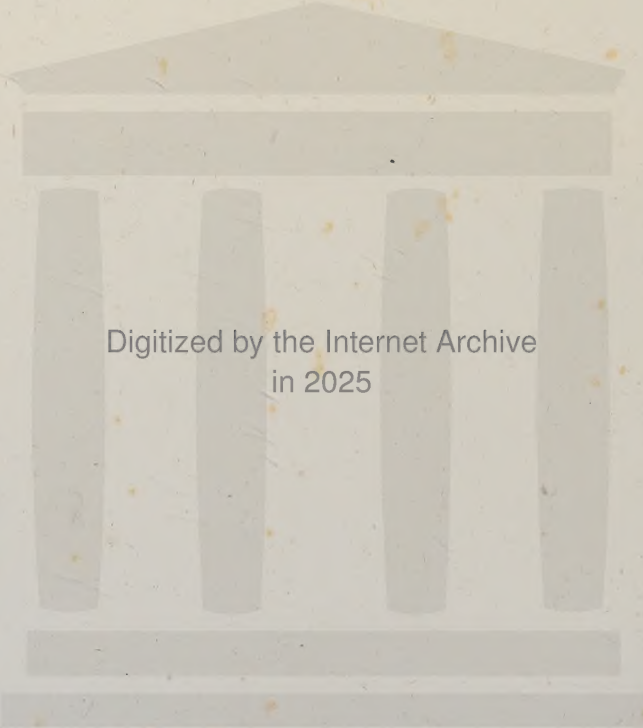




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The Holy Communion

FOUR VISITATION ADDRESSES

A.D. 1891

BY

JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D.

Bishop of Salisbury.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION - - - - -	5
I. THE GOSPEL NARRATIVE OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER - - - - -	8
Decay of Judaism and growth of Christian rites, p. 9, &c.—Their witness to Christ, p. 12.—Discourses at Capernaum, p. 13.—The First Cup, p. 15.—The Feet-washing, p. 17.—Argument of the Society of Friends, p. 19.—Preparation, p. 23.—Exit of Judas, p. 24.—Leavened or Unleavened Bread, p. 24.—Symbolism of the Elements, pp. 27—32. Picture at Madrid, p. 33.	
II. THE MEMORIAL OF CHRIST IN THE ASSEMBLY OF THE EARLY CHURCH AND THE PRIMITIVE LITURGY - - -	34
Jewish Memorial of the Messiah, pp. 34—36.—Ours more than a Memorial of the Crucifixion. Christ's sacrifice purifies Heaven, pp. 36—39.—Assembly of the Early Church, hour, place, order, purposes, popular character, pp. 40—43.—Business and finance; Agapè, pp. 44—46.—Lights, Hymns, Kiss, Confession, pp. 47—49.—Prophecy, Epistle, Gospel, pp. 49—52.—Creed, Sermon, p. 52.—Direction by special Ministry, p. 53.—Practical Lessons, p. 54.	
III. THE PRIMITIVE LITURGY, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MANNER AND FORM OF CONSECRATION - - -	56
Dismissal of Catechumens, p. 56—Change of hour. Separation of Agapè and Eucharist. Sunday celebration, pp. 57—60.—S. Justin's description, pp. 60—62.	
I. <i>The Intercession before the Offertory</i>, p. 63.—1. Prayer for Conversion of Israel. The Birkhath ham minim. Christian prayers for Jews rare, pp. 65—71.—2. Prayer for Missions also rare.—Bad results, pp. 71—74.—3. Prayers for Kings, &c. Defect of Roman Liturgy, pp. 74—79.—4. Common Prayers in a fixed form—pp. 79—81.	
II. <i>The Kiss</i>; permanent lesson, pp. 82—84.—Litanies.	
III. <i>The Offertory of the elements</i>. Mixture of Chalice, pp. 84—88.	
IV. <i>The Consecration</i>.—1. By the Minister alone. Evidence. Tertullian's Lay-priesthood. Reasons for restrictions, pp. 89—93.—2. said audibly, p. 94.—3. Four elements in it. (1.) Thanksgiving, p. 96. The "Word of God and prayer," p. 99.—(2.) Invocation, its character, p. 100.—(3.) The Institution; how it came to be insisted on; early but not universal; Greek and Roman view of it. Council of Florence and Pope Eugenius, pp. 102—107.—(4.) Lord's Prayer—importance of, pp. 107—109. Primitive doctrine of Christ's presence.	
V. <i>The Distribution</i>.—1. By Deacons, p. 111.—2. Individually; pp. 109—111. manner of reception, pp. 112—115.—3. After use of Sacrament—Reservation, pp. 115—118.	

IV. THE COMMUNION OFFICE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND 119

Object of the Address. 1. *General principles of Reform.*—Lutheran and “Evangelical” Service, pp. 122—128.—Calvin’s and “Reformed” Service.—Revision in France and Scotland, pp. 129—133.—Tendency of English revision; the Sacrifice and the presence; explained by union with the worship of heaven, pp. 134—140.—2. *Structure of our Office compared with Latin:*—(1) omissions, p. 141; (2) transpositions and alterations, p. 142; (3) seven noteworthy additions, pp. 145—147. 3. *Frequency of Celebration*; rules of Communion confused with rules of celebration; wishes of Reformers.—General principle, pp. 147—157.—4. *Hours of Celebration and presence of non-communicants*; reasons for early celebration.—Evening Communions.—The Prayer-Book and non-communicants.—Suggestions, pp. 157—162.—5. *Private preparation for the Celebration and Communion*, p. 162.—6. *Preparation of the Elements*; the Sacristan, p. 164.—7. *Division and conduct of the service*—(1) Six-fold division, p. 165.—(2) Posture of celebrant and people; North side, &c., pp. 166—170. (3) Notes on the meaning of different parts.—*The General Preparation.*—Collects, &c., Creed, The *Filioque*, Banns of Marriage, pp. 170—176.—*The Offertory*, ‘alms and oblations.’—Special intercessions, pp. 176—178.—*The Preparation of Communicants*; use of the Exhortations, p. 179.—*The Consecration*, pp. 180—184.—*The Communion*, p. 184.—*The Thanksgiving*, p. 185.

APPENDIX I. ON THE USE OF THE MIXED CHALICE AND THE PLACE AND TIME OF MIXING IT (with memorandum by Dr. J. Wickham Legg)	- - - - -	187
--	-----------	-----

APPENDIX II. ON THE JEWISH PRAYER AGAINST HERETICS, (with memorandum by Rev. H. C. Reichardt)	- - -	195
--	-------	-----

APPENDIX III. DIOCESAN STATISTICS. A. Personal. B. Financial. C. Obituary of Clergy since last Visitation. D. Church Building works. E. Particulars of Faculties (1886—1891)	- - - - -	198
---	-----------	-----

APPENDIX IV. ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE USE OF THE LORD’S PRAYER IN CONSECRATION	- - -	205
---	-------	-----

APPENDIX V. DIOCESAN BIBLIOGRAPHY (1885—1891)	-	207
---	---	-----

INTRODUCTION.

At the close of the last of my four addresses to you, dear Brethren, delivered at my first Visitation of this Diocese in 1888, I just touched upon the subject of the Holy Communion. I have since always had it in mind to say something to you more at length on that holy ordinance, something which, by God's help, might tend to its more reverent and intelligent administration and reception—though reverence and intelligence are very rarely wanting in any of our parishes. To make such an attempt now seems particularly opportune when we (that is to say the Archdeacons and Rural Deans acting with myself) are about to establish a Diocesan Guild of Communicants and Church-workers, taking the word Church-workers in the broadest sense, which we hope may affiliate to itself all such existing Guilds and make it easy for others to be founded in a great number of our Parishes. I venture also to hope that I may be able to do something in the cause of peace and reunion, by a calm and dispassionate yet critical account of what I have learnt from others, and have ventured to conclude myself, as to the early history of the Liturgy of the Church. Such a survey will, I trust, remove some prejudices and misconceptions, and dispose the minds of those who hear or read these pages to acknowledge the breadth and depth of meaning that is in this Sacrament, and therefore to make them more tolerant of others who have grasped a side or aspect of its meaning, not so evident, it may be, or so attractive to themselves. I shall avoid as much as possible all controversy and anything that may tend to wound or irritate any of those who may be expected to read these addresses. I am too profoundly convinced of the value of a manifold representa-

tion of life and thought in the Church as a manifestation of the " manifold wisdom of God"—the πολυποίκιλος σοφία of which St. Paul speaks (*Eph.* iii. 10)—to wish to crush or drive into opposition any element that bears upon it the least mark of the Holy Spirit's consecrating hand. Life is too short for us Christians to quarrel about words and names. Life is too precious for us to dispense with the warmth of any brother's love, or the help of any brother's brain and eye and hand.

But if I should, as I cannot fail to do, touch upon some controverted points, I trust that you at least, dear brethren, whose abundant kindness to myself and unselfish and brotherly co-operation in the work of the Church I have experienced for now more than five years, will give what is said a patient and indulgent hearing. You will not accept or condemn without consideration, but first " Prove all things," and then " hold fast " that which you find to be good. (*1 Thess.* v. 21.)

It is impossible in the course of only four addresses to say all that could be desired even in the somewhat limited range of topics which I have selected ; and it is to be regretted that the addresses must of necessity be delivered to different audiences. It will therefore be advisable to prefix to the whole series a plain summary of their contents.

I. The First Address which I shall give is headed *The Gospel Narrative of the Institution of the Lord's Supper*. It begins with a general enquiry as to the reasons for the prominence of Sacramental rites and similar ordinances in the Church of Christ. Then we go on to speak particularly of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ; and first of the preparation for its institution in the Discourses at Capernaum (*St. John* vi.) Then follows a review of the Gospel narratives of the Institution in which particular attention is paid to the following points :—(1) the first cup described by St. Luke ; (2) the feet-washing described by St. John ; (3) the exit of Judas ; (4) the Bread used by our Lord ; and (5) the reasons for His choice of the elements of Bread and Wine as instruments for conveying His Body and His Blood to us.

II. The Second Address is entitled *The Memorial of Christ in the Assembly of the Early Church and the Primitive Liturgy*. This address begins with a consideration of the meaning of the memorial which our Lord desired us to make, its nature and extent; and then continues with a description in detail of an assembly of the Early Church for the three purposes of Church business and finance, social intercourse, and Eucharistic worship, up to the dismissal of the Catechumens.

III. The Third Address continues the same subject and is called the *Primitive Liturgy, with special reference to the manner and form of Consecration*, and thus touches upon one of the most difficult questions in the history of the Church. In it I have taken my text from the short but very interesting account of the Eucharist given by Justin Martyr. It is concerned particularly with five points: (1) the prayers of the faithful; (2) the kiss of Peace; (3) the Offertory; (4) the Consecration; (5) the Distribution and after use of the Sacrament.

IV. The Fourth Address is concerned with the *Communion Office of the Church of England*, and will, I hope, be practically helpful both to clergy and communicants. I have compared our office with other Reformed Liturgies, as well as with the previous Latin rite, and have tried to bring out its beauties and the general tendency of its teaching. I have discussed also the questions of the frequency and hours of celebration and the presence of non-communicants, and have endeavoured to give suitable directions for the conduct of the service in detail.

The first three Addresses have all been subjected to considerable revision and enlargement since their delivery. The fourth has been chiefly written since the Visitation. The volume is now sent forth with a heart full of thankfulness to God and of love to those to whom it is primarily addressed—the Clergy of the Diocese of Salisbury.

SALISBURY,

12th August, 1891.

I.

THE GOSPEL NARRATIVE OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE
LORD'S SUPPER.

Nothing so strikingly marks the difference between the Law and the Gospel as the small space occupied by outward ordinances in the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles in comparison to the detail with which they are described and enforced in the Old Testament. Yet if we compare the present condition of Jewish religion with that of Christianity we shall be struck by the fact that our Christian rites have grown to great importance and have attained great prominence, while those of Judaism have dwindled or been wholly lost or suspended.

The rites of the Law must at all times have been felt to be burdensome and, so to speak, lifeless. Our Lord's reproach, "Did not Moses give you the Law and yet none of you "keepeth the Law?" (*John* vii. 19), and St. Peter's description of it as a yoke "which neither our fathers nor "we were able to bear" (*Acts* xv. 10), harmonise with what we read in Old Testament history of the cessation even of the Passover for long periods, and of the loss even of the book of the Law. The decay of Judaism was indeed to be expected by those who had the key to the Old Testament in the New. Not only did the prophets¹ before the Captivity speak of the cessation and rejection of Jewish sacrifice, but Jeremiah prophesied distinctly of a "new covenant" (xxx. 31), which was clearly to take the place of that which was old. When

¹ *Hosea* iii. 4. "The children of Israel shall abide many days without "a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an "image, and without an ephod and without teraphim," and ix. 3—5; cp. *Amos* v. 21, 22, "I hate, I despise your feast days," &c., and *Isaiah* i. 11—16, "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices "unto me?" &c.

therefore the disciples heard our Lord speak of the new covenant in His blood, when they witnessed the rending of the veil of the Temple coincidently with His cry of death, and when they saw that Temple destroyed by the folly of His own people, the passing away of the rites of the Law became clear as daylight to them. "In that he saith a new covenant (says the author of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, ch. viii. 13, writing on the eve of this destruction and commenting on the passage of *Jeremiah*) he hath made the first old. Now that "which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away."

So far there was no difficulty; but the growth in importance of Christian rites was not so clear beforehand, since not only did they occupy but a small space in the positive teaching of the New Testament, but inasmuch as great part of that teaching was directly opposed to a ceremonial and scrupulous spirit, and was an actual attack upon Pharisaic trust in the externals of religion.

Yet I am bold to say that there never was a time, in the history at any rate of the Church of England, when the two Sacraments ordained by our Lord Himself, and the other sacred ordinances of the Church, particularly of Confirmation and Ordination, were held and deservedly held in higher honour by experienced and intelligent Christians, or were more felt to be channels of divine grace and to answer to the needs of human nature. There are no doubt not a few persons outside the Church who impugn their value or make light of their importance, and dissuade others from trusting in them. But at the same time I am persuaded that there is a growing sense of their dignity and worth in the minds of fair-minded Nonconformists, and that the opposition, such as it is, is less bitter and inconsiderate than in past days. A very slight study of the reign say of Charles the First and of the period of the Commonwealth will convince anyone of this change of temper of which I speak.

If we ask what is the general explanation to be given to the value attached to those external things in a Christian Society to which our Lord gave such a strong inward and spiritual direction, we must answer:—(1) That He insisted

Himself quite clearly on their value, and left them, being few in number, to stand out in much greater relief than any of the older ordinances did, except perhaps those of the Sabbath and circumcision. Without pressing too much the probability that our Lord gave further unwritten instruction on such points, in His discourses just before His Ascension, we may point out that He not only gave directions about Almsgiving, Prayer, and Fasting in the Sermon on the Mount, but that in the same discourse He apparently contemplated some sort of continuance of sacrifice in His kingdom.²

(2) They are so clearly connected with the life of our Lord and the great truths of His Gospel, that they are the most powerful witnesses of our faith to the world, more powerful in some respects by far than any amount of preaching. The two sacraments are not inaptly compared to the two olive trees of *Zechariah* (iii. 3, 11, &c.) and the two witnesses of the *Apocalypse* (xi. 3 foll.), whether they are actually prefigured or not by these mysterious symbols. The rites of Confirmation and Ordination may also claim thus much at least of direct connection with Him, that He set a positive example of laying on of hands on children in blessing them, and that His choice and training of the Apostles was in some sort the principal work of His ministry.³ Hence all these solemn rites and practices, by their silent, uncontroversial witness, going on day after day, and year after year, make an impression on mankind which

² *Matt.* v. 23, 24, R.V.—“If therefore thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.” This passage is clearly referred to in the *Διδάχῃ* or *Teaching of the Apostles* (about 100 A.D.) chap. xiv. speaking of the Eucharist, “And let none that hath a difference with his fellow come together with you, until they be reconciled, that our sacrifice be not defiled.” S. Irenaeus takes it in the same way (*Huer.* iv. 18, 1, as a command to offer the ‘pure sacrifice’ of Malachi, the firstfruits of God’s creatures.

³ Cp. F. D. Maurice *The Kingdom of Christ* (vol. ii. p. 148 ed. 2, 1842) “If we called the Four Gospels ‘the Institution of a Christian Ministry’ we might not go very far wrong, or lose sight of many of their essential qualities.” See also *The One Religion*, Lect. viii., pp. 348 foll., ed. 2, 1887.

no merely verbal assertion of a belief, or teaching of a philosophical school, could convey.

(3) They give us inside the Church a sense of our Saviour's actual presence, by the power of the Holy Ghost, ministering to the wants and necessities of human nature. What these wants are, all religion, both Jewish and Pagan, cries aloud with many voices, and often in such strange sort that we too are perplexed or repelled, rather than consoled by the answers it elicits. The satisfaction of these wants by Jesus Christ shews that His Gospel is a living Gospel, a Gospel of Grace, and Peace and Joy.

(4) Besides the evidence of the coming of a new Covenant into the world to supersede the old, which we have found in ancient prophecy, there was also a prophecy of Malachi (i. 10, 11), which from the first century onwards has been constantly applied to the Christian Liturgy, while it foretells the cessation of the Jewish types and shadows :—" I have no pleasure " in you, saith the LORD of Hosts neither will I accept an " offering at your hand. For from the rising of the sun, even " unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great " among the Gentiles ; and, in every place, incense shall be " offered unto my name and a pure offering (*minchah*), for " my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the LORD " of Hosts." We have only to read the newly discovered *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* to add another and a very early testimony (about the year 100 A.D.) to the long series of writers who witness to this interpretation, including four of the foremost fathers of the first three centuries.⁴

⁴ See on this text Bp. Chr. Wordsworth's Commentary for some of the most important passages of Anglican divines and others on the right view of the Eucharistic sacrifice. The early writers who quote the text of Malachi are (1) the *Διδαχὴ* chap. xiv. immediately after the words quoted in Note 2. " For this is that [sacrifice] which was spoken by the Lord, *In every place and time offer* (*προσφέρειν*) *me a pure sacrifice ; For I am a great King, saith the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the Gentiles,*" where the LXX., as quoted by Harnack (in agreement with Clem. Alex.), is nearer than the Hebrew, but does not agree with Tischendorf's edition (1869) ; (2) St. Justin Martyr *Dialogue* 28 *end*, 41, 116, 117 quoting more exactly, and distinctly referring to the Eucharistic oblation. It is in chap. 41 that he also refers distinctly to the words *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν* and

Such are the general reasons which account for the prominence of the Christian sacraments and sacramental rites. Let us now turn especially to the most conspicuous of them, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and try to define the place which it takes in the New Testament.

I think we may fairly say that it was marked out by our Lord Himself as one of the most important witnesses to the truth of His claims to Messiahship.

He was, you will remember, many times pressed during His ministry to prove His claims by working miracles. He of course always refused to do this. I say "of course" as I am speaking to Christians, who know the meaning of faith in Him. Infidels still are apt to claim that neither He nor His Church will work miracles, when pressed to do so, under such conditions of scientific observation as would force assent from a reluctant criticism and oblige them to believe even against their will. But we know that He came to draw men to Him, not to force them, and to teach and proclaim the value of willing faith and obedience. He refused then to work miracles

so as to make it clear that he interpreted ποιεῖν in the Hebrew and LXX. sense of 'offer.' He compares the meat offering of fine flour, made for the recovered leper (Lev. xiv. 10, 20, 31) with the bread of the Eucharist:—*τύπος ἦν τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, ὃν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ πάθους . . . Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν παρέδωκε ποιεῖν.* He further uses ποιεῖν twice, exactly in the same sense, both of the bread and the cup, in chap. 70; (3) St. Irenæus (circa 180 A.D.) *Hæc.* iv. 17, 5 and 6 and 18, 1, &c., writing at considerable length of the Eucharistic oblation of first fruits. In 17, 6 he explains the incense as "the prayers of the saints" from Apoc. v. 8. Cp. *Fragm.* xxxviii. (a doubtful Pfaffian Fragment) which refers to the *δεύτεραι διατάξεις* or "second ordinances" of the Apostles, which possibly may be our *Διδαχή*; (4) Tertullian (circa 200 A.D.) *adv. Judæos* 5 interprets the passage of 'spiritual sacrifices' offered in the church, and *adv. Marc.* iii. 22 (after quoting Malachi) "gloriae scilicet relatio, et benedictio, et laus, et hymni," apparently thinking rather of the Eucharistic praises than of the oblation of bread and wine; (5) St. Clement of Alexandria, (circa 200 A.D.) *Strom.* v. 14, 137, quotes the passage, but merely in an explanation of the name of God; (6) St. Cyprian (circa 250 A.D.) *Testim.* i. 16 under the heading 'Quod sacrificium vetus evacuaretur et novum celebraretur,' no doubt referring to the Eucharist, cf. e.g. *ep.* 63, 17, "passio est enim Domini sacrificium quod offerimus;" (7) St. Hippolytus (ed. Lagarde, p. 160) c Cod. Chisiano in *Dan.* n. xxii. p. 110, "When (Antichrist) comes the sacrifice and libation, which now in every place is offered to God by the Gentiles, will be taken away." Cf. Hieron, in *Dan.* c. 9, vol. v., p. 689.

to prove His Messiahship; but He did not refuse all evidence. On several occasions He gave certain prophecies of His death and its consequences, the fulfilment of which, after a lapse of time, when men had had leisure to reflect upon it, was really a much stronger evidence than a sudden miracle would have been. Such a miracle could not have touched the conscience or even satisfied the reason; the fulfilment of the prophecy appealed to both. Thus at one time when asked for a sign He prophesied His death and resurrection and consequent founding of the Church upon it, under the figure of the destruction of the Temple and the rearing up of it again in three days. At another He gave the sign of Jonas. On a third occasion when He was pressed with the question of the meaning of His claims "What sign shewest thou then, that we may see and believe thee? What dost thou work?" (*John* vi. 30), He spoke of Himself in answer as the Bread of Life. He gradually defined what He meant speaking of His own descent from Heaven, speaking of His flesh being for the life of the world, speaking of the necessity of eating His flesh and drinking His blood (*ib.* 38, 51, 53, &c.) Now this was clearly a prophecy of His death, and of life too to come through it, life to Himself and life to the world. The word flesh implied sacrifice; the thought of drinking His blood made the manner of the sacrifice even more distinct, and must have appeared specially strange to His Jewish hearers to whom the taste of blood was forbidden as a pollution.

Now I do not intend to discuss the relation of this prophecy to the Holy Communion at any length. We naturally shrink from limiting it only to the Sacrament since it seems harsh to say that all non-communicants have "no life" in them. Yet I think it is as clear that the primary reference is to this Sacrament, as that the closely parallel words to Nicodemus, about being "born of water," (*John* iii. 5) refer to Baptism. Certainly our own Church in the Prayer of Humble Access just before the Consecration applies the words to the reception of Holy Communion, making especial use of the beautiful thought of verse 56 "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in

me and I in him." We must make every allowance for ignorance and prejudice—especially such prejudice as arises from the bad examples of nominal Christians—God we feel sure will pardon and supply such defects, and it is not ours to judge our neighbours. But we have a duty to put the warnings of the Gospel seriously before the world; and to tell those, whom our voices may reach, that the use of the Sacraments is obligatory as the use of food is obligatory; as necessary to the life of the soul as the use of food is to the body.

If then these great discourses,⁵ spoken beforehand, were a prophecy of the Lord's death and resurrection and of the benefits of feeding upon His sacrifice, the Institution at the Paschal Supper, a year later, fell upon ground prepared in the hearts of the Apostles. The words so solemnly uttered at Capernaum explained what might otherwise have seemed sudden and inexplicable to the company collected in the Upper Room at Jerusalem. Our Lord indeed made most impressive preparations for that Passover, all the more impressive from His neglect of it on a previous occasion. His journey to the Feast had been marked with many noticeable incidents; the place of the Supper had been pointed out with special prophetic signs. The Paschal Meal itself,⁶ it would seem, while beginning in the usual way, was

⁵ They were spoken, according to the common supposition, just about a year before the last Passover, and contain the first distinct reference to the treachery of Judas. These are points of connection which enforce the argument from the similarity of language and subject.

⁶ I take it generally for granted that Our Lord ate the Passover at the right time and on the eve of His Passion. I interpret the words of St. John (xiii. 1), "Now before the Feast of the Passover Jesus, knowing that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own that were in the world, loved them unto the end," as a short and pregnant description of Our Lord's loving preparation of the supper which is spoken of without any warning in the next verse. Something is obviously wanted to connect the two verses. It is possible that an actual lacuna of a few lines may account for the difficulty. The fact that the writer was one of the two sent to prepare the Passover (*Luke* xxii. 9) was probably known to all who first heard or read the Gospel, and was doubtless one of the signs of the Master's love which he recalled when He wrote the words, "He

transformed as it proceeded into something evidently higher and more glorious.

The Cup mentioned by St. Luke alone (xxii. 15—18) may have answered to the first cup used at the Passover. We may suppose that our Lord began with the simple grace or benediction, "Blessed art thou Jehovah our God, Lord of the world, who hast created the fruit of the Vine:" but it is less likely that He would use the "blessing of the day," which (according to the form that has come down to us) spoke with something like pride and self-righteousness of the choice and exaltation of Israel over all other nations.⁷ St. Luke's words intimate that there was something at once familiar and new in our Lord's action. "And when the hour was come, he sat down and the Apostles with him. And he said unto them, with desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: for I say unto you I will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. And he received a cup [probably a cup of mixed wine⁸ handed to him by an attendant] and when he had given thanks he said, Take this and divide it among yourselves: for I say unto you I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God shall come." (R.V.) These words opened a door into the future which must have been as wonderful in its revelation as the "door

loved them unto the end." Another explanation is to distinguish the "*Feast of the Passover*" and the more joyous sacrifice of peace-offerings, from the "first day of unleavened bread." Others place the Eucharist first and the Paschal Supper afterwards. Others (including some of the early Greek fathers and Dr. [Bp.] Westcott) suppose that Our Lord suffered at the time of the killing of the Paschal Lamb, and distinguish His supper wholly or partly from the Paschal Supper.

I agree with Godet and Edersheim in thinking that Our Lord followed generally the lines of the Passover ritual, but modified them as He went along. There is an excellent account of this ritual in [Canon] T. L. Kingsbury's *Spiritual Sacrifice and holy Communion* note F, Macmillan and Co. 1868—a book full of thought, devotion, and learning.

⁷ This blessing and other particulars are given by Dr. Edersheim, *The Temple: Its Ministry and Services at the time of Jesus Christ*. Rel. Tr. Soc. [1874], p. 204, and Kingsbury l. c. p. 160.

⁸ See the Appendix I., in which the evidence is given, and the method and time of the ritual mixing of the chalice is discussed.

opened in Heaven" was to the Seer of the Apocalypse. They said in fact, "This is my last passover: the last year of my life," and then, perhaps after an interval, "This is my last supper: the last day of my life" (so Godet). They belong therefore to the Last Supper, as a single historical event, rather than to the Lord's Supper as a permanent institution of the Church.⁹ Yet they are important as being very probably the words on which St. Paul founded his pregnant description of the Sacrament as a showing forth of the Lord's death "till He come" (1 Cor. xi. 26).

The question may indeed be raised how these words are to be reconciled with the fact of our Lord's not only "breaking bread" with His disciples going to Emmaus, but of His Apostles "eating and drinking" with Him on other occasions, as St. Peter taught Cornelius.¹⁰ But the answer to this is that Our Lord's words here refer not to ordinary eating and drinking, nor even to sacramental eating and drinking, but look onward from the Passover at which He suffered to the other great Paschal Supper—the Marriage Supper of the Lamb, at the Eternal Easter-tide, when all things shall be made new in the kingdom of God. Then, He teaches us, He will drink the true fruit of the true Vine, that is, He will delight in the graces and virtues of His saints who will be near Him and round Him. For thus we must surely read side by side with St. Luke His discourse about the true

⁹ No notice of this first cup is apparently taken in any Liturgy. A cup of unconsecrated wine is handed round, I am told, in some churches of Switzerland, but this is probably a substitute for communion, something like the 'pain béni' or eulogia. It is noticeable that verse 20, describing the second cup, with the concluding words of verse 19 (after ὑμῶν) is omitted in the Codex Bezae and certain old Latin texts (a b e ff, i l; b e putting verses 17, 18, instead of the words after ὑμῶν to the end of verse 20). The Curetonian Syriac omits verse 20, and substitutes for it verses 17, 18. St. Paul once mentions the Cup before the Bread, and the *Teaching* puts a Thanksgiving over a Cup before that over the Bread, but that was probably part of the Love-Feast, and no argument against verse 20 can be drawn from either. The second cup was very probably omitted in the MSS. mentioned to avoid a supposed difficulty of harmonising Our Lord's words about not drinking any more of the fruit of the vine with His act in blessing a second Cup, and perhaps to bring St. Luke nearer to St. Matthew and St. Mark.

¹⁰ Acts x. 41; cp. συναλιζόμενος παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἰβ. i. 4.

Vine and the fruit-bearing Branches which St. John has preserved to us.¹¹

The practical lesson then to be learnt from this is that every celebration of the Holy Communion should be regarded as a step forward towards the great unveiling of the glory of our Saviour's Kingdom. It should be regarded indeed as a time of triumph for victory already potentially won, and yet only as a shadow, a veil of that great day of triumph when sin and sorrow shall cease, and all Christian souls be reunited, and when we shall see our Lord with joy visibly among us, as we know that He is now present invisibly.

The next part of the Paschal ceremonial which our Lord is described as touching is that action of His, "after the "beginning of supper, or during supper,"¹² which took the place of the washing of the hands by the Head of the Company.

This act of washing followed probably immediately after the circulation of the first Cup. St. John thus describes it, "And during supper, the devil having already put into the "heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray him, *Jesus* "knowing that the Father had given all things into his "hands, and that he came forth from God, and goeth unto "God, riseth from supper, and layeth aside his garments, "and he took a towel and girded himself. Then he poureth "water into the bason and began to wash the disciples' feet, "and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded " (*John* xiii. 2—5 R.V.) He arose then, as the Head of the Paschal Company was expected to rise, but not to wash His

¹¹ This explanation is similar to that which we must give of another hard saying of our Lord's before He went up secretly to the Feast of Tabernacles (*John* vii. 8), "I go not up," or "I go not up yet unto this "Feast," meaning that He was not going up to the Feast of Tabernacles in any solemn way and in the ordinary sense of going up to a Feast, and was looking forward from it to the Feast of the Passover which He was going up to, solemnly and openly, in the way in which His brethren wished Him to go up to the Feast of Tabernacles.

¹² *John* xiii. 2, where the right reading appears to be δειπνου γινομένου "during supper." Bishop Westcott renders it "during a supper," but this implies that the hearers and readers of the Gospel did not know that it was the Lord's last Supper. Our A.V. renders, unfortunately, "Supper being ended."

own hands, as if to prepare and consecrate Himself, but to do an act of lowest servitude to His disciples. The meaning of this act He Himself partly explains by the words used at the close of His short dialogue with St. Peter, "He that is bathed" (*ὁ λελουμένος*) needeth not save to wash (*νίψασθαι*) his "feet, but is clean every whit: and ye are clean but not all" (*ib.* 10 R.V.) He that hath once bathed in the waters of baptism and has been there cleansed in body and soul, needs not to be baptized again, but must by repentance and contrition wash off the dust and mire that clings to his feet as he walks through life, and this we are to help one another to do. I do not say that this exhausts the meaning of the words, but it is the most obvious meaning to attach to them.

There is a point which must be raised here in order to justify this explanation. It has sometimes been questioned whether the Apostles themselves had been as yet baptized. But it is surely almost certain that they were. Our Lord in speaking to Nicodemus of the necessity of Baptism and of the work of the Spirit renewing life in Baptism, seems to join their testimony as to its blessings with His own:—"We speak that we do know, and bear witness of that we have seen, and ye receive not our witness" (*John* iii. 11). Nor can we think it possible that He who submitted to Baptism Himself and baptized others, delegating the office (as we are told) chiefly to His disciples, should have failed to baptize them (*John* iii. 22 and iv. 2). Their further baptism "with the Holy Ghost and with fire" on the day of Pentecost answered rather to our Confirmation, and was followed by an outpouring of marvellous spiritual gifts (see Bp. Wordsworth on *Acts* i. 5). This being the case, they were prepared to understand the words "He that hath bathed" of a baptized person.

The washing of the feet then was a lesson of the kind of purification necessary to the baptized before entrance upon the rite that was to follow. Our Lord had not as yet explained what He was about to do, though He had given some indications of His purpose. But the washing of the feet to men of Jewish birth of itself suggested at least two prin-

cipal ideas :—(1) the welcoming of guests into a house for a festival, (2) the purification of those about to be engaged in a solemn service, like that of the priests at the Laver before entering the sanctuary and offering sacrifice. (*Exod.* xxx. 18—20, &c.)

This act then differs from the giving of the first cup in being one of perpetual importance to the Church. All have been baptized, and none but baptized persons are admissible to the Holy Eucharist,¹³ and they must be admitted through some such purification as that which our Lord used to prepare His disciples. “Know ye (He says) what I have ‘done to you?’” implying that His act was one to be carefully considered, pondered, and acted upon. “Ye call me Master ‘and Lord: and ye say well; for so I am. If I then the ‘Lord and the Master, have washed your feet ye also ought to ‘wash one another’s feet. For I have given you an example ‘that ye should do as I have done to you.’” (*John* xiii. 12—15). What then is the permanent meaning to us of this command? It is certainly not a literal washing of the same kind.

Members of the Society of Friends are apt to argue—and we must be prepared to answer them—that this command is almost as explicit as the “Do this in remembrance ‘of Me,” which we interpret as a command to make a perpetual memorial in the Sacrament. They conclude then that as the command to wash one another’s feet is not to be taken literally—for so all are agreed—therefore the latter need not be literally fulfilled.

Now I am quite willing to admit that if we had only the text of the Gospels put into our hands for the first time to-day, and were told to construct a sacramental system out of

¹³ The Liturgies that have come down to us provide regularly for a dismissal of Catechumens or candidates for Baptism. The *Ἀρχή* chap. ix., says, “And let none eat or drink of your Eucharist but such ‘as have been baptized in the name of the Lord; for concerning this ‘the Lord hath said, *Give not that which is holy to the dogs.*” Cp. Justin, *Apol.* i. 66. “No one is permitted to partake (of the Eucharist) ‘except him that believeth that our teaching is true, and who has been ‘washed in the laver which is for remission of sins and a new birth, ‘and lives according to Christ’s commands.” See the III^d Address.

it, or to decide whether a sacramental system was necessary, we might hesitate exactly what answer to give. I feel sure that we should think a sacramental system necessary; but I conceive we might very possibly think it wisest to incorporate a literal washing, of some kind or other, into our Liturgy. But as a matter of fact, this difficulty has never presented itself to the Church. The Sacraments come to us through a body of living persons, the first generation of whom had been carefully trained to hand on traditions from father to son, as for instance, with regard to the meaning and ritual of the Pass-over. Their witness being universally, or all but universally, in one direction, we are bound to accept it, even should it be not perfectly clear to us why it takes a particular line this way or that. The case before us is analogous to the observance of Sunday and the cessation of Jewish Sabbath-keeping, and the Baptism of Infants. We accept both, because of the abundance of evidence for them and the absence of any weight of evidence to the contrary. And so we omit a literal feet-washing from our Liturgy, because we have no evidence that it was ever in use, at any rate to any extent, as part even of the regular preparation of the celebrant, except perhaps here and there in some Churches of the East.¹⁴ We have also contrary evidence in the Commentaries of the Fathers that it never occurred to them to consider its literal fulfilment. A washing of the hands on the part both of clergy and people was indeed a very early custom, as a preparation for prayer, both private and public, and it has become ceremonial in many Liturgies and at different parts of the

¹⁴ Freeman *Principles of Divine Service* vol. 2 part 2 ch. 2 § 4, p. 312, says, "Renaudot says the old Eastern rule was for the priest to wash his feet, i. 176." I cannot find this passage in Renaudot. But he says of the Copts (i. 159 ed. 2), "Sacerdos pedes et manus lavare debet: jejunasse etiam die praeccedenti, et ad vesperam abstinuisse a vino," &c. Egypt, in which the heathen priests made such elaborate washings of themselves, is just the country where such a custom would take root. There are some other notices of feet-washing in Mr. A. J. Butler's *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, but not as a preparation of the celebrant. Feet-washing as a baptismal ceremony was a specially Gallican rite. See *Dict. of Chr. Ant.* Baptism, §§ 34 and 67. The 48th Canon of the Council of Eliberis forbids it. (Bruns *Canones* ii. p. 9.)

service.¹⁵ But I am not aware that this hand-washing has been considered by any writer of eminence as of serious importance.

There are however other reasons, which when we have weighed the testimony of the Church to the spiritual and not literal importance of our Lord's command or *Mandate*¹⁶ (as the Church has often called it) will enable us to draw a distinction between it and the other command, "Do this in "remembrance of me."

The washing is set, as it were, in a discourse which explains it. Its symbolic character is at once brought to our notice. On the other hand, "Do this" is almost curt in its brevity. It waited for its explanation; and immediately afterwards that explanation was given by the events of Good Friday and Easter Day. Following close upon these events we find a rite of "breaking of bread" or Eucharistic service taken for granted as well understood by all Christians. Secondly, our Lord's precepts are universal and not local in their character. This particular kind of washing, as done by one for another, is so local that we have only two other references to it in the New Testament—one in the Gospels (*Luke* vii. 44) and one in St. Paul's First Epistle to Timothy (v. 10)—neither of them in connection with public worship. On the other hand we have the Institution of the Eucharist described in three evangelists and referred to frequently in the Acts and in St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. The

¹⁵ The earliest reference is probably Tertullian, A.D. 192, *de Oratione* 13. "What is the sense of entering on prayer with the hands washed "indeed, but with the spirit defiled?" It is possible that there is an allusion to the custom in St. Paul's, "I desire therefore that men pray "in every place, lifting up holy hands," &c. (1 *Tim.* ii. 8). The first distinct description of it in the Liturgy is S. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. Myst.* v. (A.D. 347 or 348), as coming after the dismissal of Catechumens. In the Roman Missal a washing of the priest's fingers (of comparatively late introduction) forms part of the ablutions of the sacred vessels. A washing of the hands is also part of the preparation in the vestry.

¹⁶ The Thursday in Holy Week is often called *Dies Mandati* or Maundy Thursday from the antiphon "Mandatum novum do vobis ut "diligatis invicem" (*John* xiii. 34). But *mandatum* is also a name, though probably not an early one, for the feet-washing.

particular phrase used by the latter, "Ye do shew the Lord's "death till He come" (1 *Cor.* xi. 26) is surely sufficient by itself, as against the Society of Friends, to establish the permanence of the Sacrament, and to link it with the progress of the Church through all ages of history up to the Second Advent.

We are bound however to point out to the Society of Friends that the Church does not tie the blessings of Communion to the external observance of eating and drinking, where it cannot be had. It is enough to remind you of the rubric (last but two) at the close of the Service for the Communion of the Sick, which teaches in what cases a man may "eat and drink the Body and Blood of our Saviour "Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not "receive the Sacrament with his mouth."¹⁷

The washing of the feet then is in a spiritual sense the cleansing of the baptized, one by another, before they enter the Master's House as His guests, and take part in the solemn Liturgy to which He calls them as a company of priests. It is specially marked as a *lowly* ministerial office, a servile duty—possibly with a foresight of the misuse which might be made of penitential discipline by Confessors lording it over God's heritage. As far as such a preparation has to be made in private (as it must from time to time be the case, especially with the sick) it is certain that nothing but deep humility can be of any avail in the minister of God who has to help a sin-laden and sin-stained soul to wash off its defilements and to get clear from its entanglements.

He who tells a brother of his faults, or listens to the tale when offered to his ears, can be of no service to that brother unless he is deeply conscious of his own sinfulness and is

¹⁷ Cp. the authorities cited by Scudamore *Notitia Eucharistica* ed. 2 1876, p. 1038. The doctrine may be traced up to St. Augustine's Comment on St. John vi. 27—29, *Tract* xxv. § 12, and especially to the words, "Crede et manducasti." The teaching of St. Ambrose as to cases in which Baptism could be dispensed with, in reference to the death of the Emperor Valentinian II. while still a catechumen, would also tell in the same direction. See his *De obitu Valentiniani Consolatio*.

willing to confess that he is unworthy of the least of God's mercies. This caution applies to Parents and Guardians, School Teachers, Masters and Mistresses, Physicians and confidential friends, who have to warn and counsel others and try to bring them to a sense of the danger, folly and ruinous consequences of sin—as well as to the Clergy. Often such warnings are given in a harsh or in a merely formal way. We cannot wonder if they often pass unheeded. They will do so unless we give something of ourselves, and add some piece of personal abasement with the warning.

The public use of united preparation and confession, and of solemn warnings put into the priest's mouth like those in our Prayer Book exhortations, are however the main and ordinary fulfilments of our Lord's command, that as He did for us so we also should do for one another. I am glad to think that there is a growing sense of the importance of parochial preparations for Holy Communion, such as were sketched by our beloved Archbishop in his *Seven Gifts* (pp. 100 and 126). In our own Communion office we have a double public preparation, the first centering round the Ten Commandments, the second just before the act of consecration. Some form of the first used on a week day, coming, perhaps, once a quarter, would surely not be an impossible devotional exercise even in quite small parishes.¹⁸

It would not be possible within the limits of one address to go in detail through the records of those heart-searching discourses recorded by St. John, in reading or hearing which the soul seems to float in an atmosphere of heavenly calm above the world and yet conscious of its wants and its sorrows, its approaching trials and martyrdoms. The Holy Spirit clearly did not think it needful that we should know exactly the relation of these discourses to the ritual of the Paschal meal or even the incidents of that memorable night.

¹⁸ Some help to such a service will be found in the *Manual* of the Diocesan Communicants' Guild just published. A useful form called an *Office for a Communicant's Preparation Service* by Rev. J. P. A. Bowers, M.A., Diocesan Missioner, may be obtained from Mrs. Packer, S.P.C.K. Depôt, College Court, Gloucester.

It is now, however, generally agreed that the scrutiny who was to be the Traitor was closely followed by the hasty exit of Judas, after taking the sop (containing probably a piece of the Paschal Lamb) from Christ's hand, and that he did not remain to the end of the supper. Our Church, indeed, following the medieval tradition, based on the order of St. Luke's narrative, has introduced a reference to his case into the first of the warnings to the people before Communion.¹⁹ But we are not of course bound to accept this as decisive. Bishop Westcott apparently supposes that Judas received the bread but not the cup.

We must apparently place the blessing and breaking of the bread before the end of the supper, since St. Matthew and St. Mark say "as" or "while they were eating." That of the cup is as distinctly said by St. Luke and St. Paul to be "after supper" (μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι). The bread used is supposed by Dr. Edersheim²⁰ to have been a piece of one of the unleavened Passover cakes, such as the Jews now put aside and reserve under the name of *Aphikomen* or after-dish or dessert. The cup "after supper" which St. Paul calls the "Cup of Blessing" is also identified by the same authority with the Third cup of the Passover. The "hymn" which was sung before they left the upper room would probably be part of the Hallel, perhaps Psalms cxv.—cxviii.

But our Lord, it would seem, rather used the material substances before Him on account of their universality and their constant connection with sacrifice, than because of any deep and serious symbolism attaching to their use at the Passover. He made no reference, for instance, to the bread being leavened or unleavened, a matter which to the Jews is of serious importance, and which has been from time to time

¹⁹ See Scudamore *Notitia Euch.* p. 453. This Exhortation is found in the *Communion Order* of 1548 which preceded the first prayer-book of 1549. Bp. Westcott's opinion is given in the note before John xiii.

²⁰ See *the Temple Its Ministry*, &c. pp. 209 foll. *Life and Times*, &c., ii. p. 504 where he writes it *Aphikomon*. At the time of our Lord it is supposed that the Jews did not eat such an after-dish, and in fact were forbidden to eat anything after the Lamb. If this is so, the modern Jewish custom is an unconscious following of our Lord's act.

made matter of sharp controversy in the Church. It is well known that nearly all Orientals²¹ use and have apparently always used leavened bread, while the Latins, since the XIth century, if not a good deal earlier, have used unleavened cakes or wafers, or as the Greeks call them azymes.

Those who use unleavened bread may claim that our Lord probably did so, and may refer to the general use of unleavened cakes in all meat offerings under the Law (*Lev.* ii. 11),²² and to St. Paul's words about keeping the feast with the "unleavened bread" of sincerity and truth. (*1 Cor.* v. 7).

Those who use ordinary leavened bread may urge that in the first age of the Church, especially when the Eucharist was celebrated daily and connected with a common meal, there was probably no attempt made to supply and perhaps scarcely a possibility of supplying, any special kind of Bread for the Communion. Those who believe, as some of the early Greek fathers did that our Lord instituted His Supper before the Passover, and suffered on the day and at the hour when the Paschal Lamb was slain, have an additional reason for preferring leavened bread: and a natural wish to avoid the appearance of Judaizing may further incline them in the same direction. The probability is that ordinary leavened bread was in common use in the West²³ as long as the people

²¹ The Armenians who use an unmixed cup also use unleavened bread. It has been an obvious criticism to connect these usages with their Monophysitism, but the evidence for the connection is not so clear. The Maronites also use unleavened bread. The Greeks mixed not only leaven but salt, and probably continue to do so. The Syrian Christians add also oil. Mr. Seudamore, following Cardinal Bona, *N.E.* pp. 857-875, writes strongly and ably against the early use of unleavened bread in the Western Church. The article *Elements* in the *Dict. Chr. Ant.* [signed G. W. Pennethorne and Cheetham] is in favour of an earlier Western use in the 7th or 8th centuries and perhaps earlier still.

²² An exception was, however, made in the case of peace-offerings, which were, being of a more social character, to be accompanied with leavened bread (*Lev.* vii. 12).

²³ The evidence that unleavened bread was in use in the Celtic Church earlier than elsewhere, collected by F. G. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 131, 132, 1882, is not strong. The reference, e.g., to Walafrid Strabo's *Life of St. Gall*, i. 17, does not prove much,

offered their own oblations; but that even while this usage still continued, a distinction grew up as to what part of these oblations was, and what was not, to be employed for the Sacraments; and that, when the usage was lost, the use of unleavened bread became fixed partly from convenience and partly out of a feeling of reverence, wishing to discriminate it from ordinary food.

The Greeks attacked the Latins on the subject in the XIth century, and later, and often with great bitterness; but we can hardly suppose that it would now be considered a serious obstacle to communion.

In our own Church happily this has not been a matter of serious strife. Hooker could point to it as a thing generally allowed among us to be indifferent, and as such could use it to illustrate the absurdity of the Puritan axiom that things indifferent become unlawful because those in error use them.²⁴ Let us strive rather to increase than to diminish the area of such indifference, while we hold fast to the general sense of the Church universal as to what is permanent and essential. See the wise words of S. Anselm, quoted by Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, p. 48, 3rd ed. 1882.

We are now in a position to ask more particularly what was Our Blessed Lord's intention to teach us when He took Bread—leavened or unleavened—and blessed or gave thanks and brake and gave to His disciples, saying TAKE EAT (Mt.),

since the deacon brought him not only "paues azymos et lagunculam vini," but also "oleum et butyrum et mel in vasculis cum piscibus assis," and all this was apparently the preparation for a common meal, which is described immediately afterwards. Other references are criticised in detail by Scudamore, whom Mr. Warren does not seem to have consulted. The evidence of Alcuin, *ep.* 90, *ad fratres Lugdunenses*, is more important, though indecisive, and the Ps. Theodore's *Penitential* quoted from B. Thorpe *Ancient Laws* fol. ed. 1840, p. 304, is thought by Wasserschleben to be old, though not I suppose of the age of Theodore. Rabanus Maurus *de cleric. Instit.*, i. 31, is perhaps the earliest distinct evidence as yet adduced.

²⁴ *Ecl. Polity*, Book iv. chap. x. § 3. The argument in short is:—If both Greeks and Romans are in error, as is assumed, we, on this axiom, could not follow the custom of either of them in respect to things indifferent. Consequently we could use neither leavened nor unleavened bread; which is absurd.

THIS IS MY BODY (Mt., Mk., Lu., 1 Cor.), WHICH IS GIVEN (*om.* Cor.) FOR YOU. DO THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME (Lu., Cor.), and likewise the cup after supper and gave thanks and gave it to them saying, DRINK YE ALL OF IT (Mt.), FOR THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE COVENANT (Mt., Mk.), *or* THIS CUP IS THE NEW COVENANT IN MY BLOOD (Lu., Cor.), WHICH IS SHED FOR MANY (Mt. *περί*, Mk. *ὑπέρ*), *or* WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU (Lu.), FOR REMISSION OF SINS (Mt.). DO THIS, AS OFT AS YE DRINK IT, IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME (Cor.).

We must not say with the Jews of Capernaum, "How can "He give us His flesh to eat?" That is a mystery surpassing human capacity. But what thoughts did He intend us to think?

The action was a strange and unexampled one, and surely intended to stimulate thought. The Bread had been lying, some time it may be, on the table lifeless and unregarded. Suddenly He takes it into those wonderful hands, which have raised the dead, and cleansed the leper, and lifted up the sick from their beds, and stilled the storm, and fed the multitudes, and He tells His disciples that this Bread lying in those Hands, is His Body. The contrast between the lifeless thing and the living life-giving Person was nothing else but astonishing. How could the two be brought into relation?

1. The first answer to this deep question surely is:—The Eucharist is a consecration of Nature by the author of Nature.

When we first open our eyes to the mysteries around us we are naturally at a loss how to reconcile the existence of an infinite and perfect Being with the finite, growing, imperfect nature, which we partly see and partly know and partly imagine around us, ranging from the minutest atoms to the heavenly bodies, and from senseless dust up to thinking man. If God is what we believe Him to be, all this is, at its best, very imperfect, and in one sense, unworthy of Him; and yet it clearly did not make itself.

It does not seem too much to say that, even apart from the mystery of evil and "darkness," the mystery of the Creation would be inexplicable without the mystery of the Incarnation,

and the mystery of the Incarnation would be unintelligible without that of the Blessed Trinity, one person in which is revealed to us as the Word of God, the instrument of Creation, and the proper subject of Incarnation. If we had merely on the one side a solitary Divine monad, an isolated Unitarian God, and on the other an imperfect and growing creation, and had to imagine the relation between them, we should be constantly trembling and hovering between the demonstrably false and misleading vanities of Pantheism, Dualism, Manicheism, and Deism. I will not trouble you with an explanation of these terms further than to remind you that Pantheism confuses God and nature, Dualism and Manicheism put them on an equality or at variance, and Deism represents God as a Creator who sets His work going and leaves it, generally speaking, to take care of itself.

It is from this hopeless confusion between antagonistic and jarring explanations of the relation between spirit and matter, God and nature, that Christ sets us free. He represents nature as His own work and as capable of being consecrated and elevated by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, which has first consecrated His own human nature—Body, Soul and Spirit—and is then given by Him to the Church.

St. John in his wonderful prologue tells us of the Word of God—that is of His representative power going out to create and order and arrange all things. He tells us that “all things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made.” It makes but little difference whether we complete the sentence with the words “that was made,” or take them as the beginning of a new sentence,²⁵ with many ancient and weighty authorities, “That which hath been made was life in Him, and the life was the light of men.” (R. V. margin), or “that which hath been made in Him was life, and the life was the light of men.” In either case we learn that the Word was the instrument of all

²⁵ Quod factum est in ipso vita erat, ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν or “that which hath been made in Him, was life, and the life was the light of men,” is the punctuation of the oldest MSS. both Greek and Latin, as far as we can trace it, and that of many of the Fathers.

creation, and that all life was a revelation of His presence—"the light of men," that through which they knew God before the Light of the World was manifested in our flesh.

The words "This is My body," "This is my blood," then are a concrete and striking statement of the great fact that the material world is an embodiment of the life of the Son of God. Some of the half-Christian Manicheans had got hold of this truth and twisted and perverted it, as one may readily imagine a modern Brahmin might do. But because of the perversion we must not shrink from the truth. Our Lord's words imply the sacredness of matter, and not only the possibility of the consecration of nature but the intention of God that it should be consecrated.

What a practical light does this throw on the dignity of your calling, dear brothers, who have to do with the things of earth and the processes of nature, with agriculture and the keeping and breeding of sheep and cattle! How it exalts all labour that tends to make nature more subservient to God's great end, in glorifying the life of man and revealing God to him and in him! How it lifts up handicraft into the region of art, and art to that of poetry, and poetry to that of prophecy and inspiration!

2. But there is a second answer of no less importance. There is a further meaning surely in the choice of bread and wine as the symbols and instruments for conveying Christ's life. They are before all things food, and the food by which the life of man, not of beasts, is nourished. The choice of these elements harmonises with the choice of human nature as the subject of Incarnation, and with the designation of the Church of the redeemed as Christ's Body, and the description of the sufferings of His Saints as filling up that which is lacking of His afflictions (*Col. i. 24*).

(a) The Eucharist is not only a consecration of nature, but a consecration of human nature and life—and (be it observed) not of human life in a wild and unsettled, much less in a savage state, but of the life of civilised and settled humanity, organised in society, in which each member lends to the other the substance of his life. So it was too under the

Levitical law, with its "shadow of good things to come." The sacrifice of the produce of the earth that was ordered was not one of simple fruits or flowers, but of wine, oil, meal, cakes, with carefully prepared frankincense. "It was required (as Bishop Westcott well says, *Hebrews* p. 289) that man's life "and labour should have entered into that which was offered "to God (*Gen.* iii. 17—19)." Our Lord did not choose the fruits of the ground, cultivated or uncultivated, nor did He choose the water that springs from the rock—which is the food and drink of men in their unsettled life—nor did He choose the flesh of animals, which is of such various kinds, and is rejected by so large a portion of mankind—but He chose the simplest and commonest food of civilized humanity, *i.e.*, that humanity which is the aim of God to produce.

(b) Both elements have this further property, that they are the result of the union of many individuals of a natural species in one substance. Bread is a substance to which thousands of grains, brought together in different stages of their history, on the barn floor and in the mill and the kneading trough, have contributed till it is united in one new creature—so to speak—the constituent parts of which are indistinguishable from one another. This (as St. Paul reminds us) is a type of the unity of the Church, "We "being many are one bread, and one body" (*1 Cor.* x. 17)—a thought to which one of the oldest prayers²⁶ (that of the *Teaching of the Apostles*, chap. ix.) gives another and a beautiful turn, "As this broken bread was [once] scattered "upon the mountains and was gathered together and became "one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends "of the earth into thy kingdom." Similarly wine is produced

²⁶ This is more properly a benediction at the Agapé; see below, p. 46. The thought of St. Paul is also found in St. Cyprian. After saying that the mixed chalice symbolises the union of Christ and His people, he goes on to observe that flour and water must likewise be used to make the Sacramental bread, "quo et ipso sacramento populus noster "ostenditur adunatus, ut quemadmodum grana multa in unum collecta "et conmolita et conmixta panem unum faciunt, sic in Christo, qui est "panis caelestis, unum sciamus esse corpus, cui coniunctus sit noster "numerus et adunatus" (*ep.* 63, 13); see also the reference in the next note to *ep.* 69, 5.

from many grapes of many clusters, pressed out in the wine vat and then left to change their nature by fermentation, till a new product is formed to which the whole mass has contributed something.²⁷

(c) If this had been all, one element or symbol might have sufficed, but our Lord chose bread we may suppose as representing one side of human life and wine the other, one a manifest symbol of the life of work, the other of the life of feeling or emotion, both necessary to the perfection of human nature. Take a piece of bread and ask yourself how it came to be what it is? What a series of pictures of labour of different kinds does it call up in forest and field, in barn and mill, and in the home! of hard monotonous daily tasks dignified by the union of men and women, indoors and out of doors, of many heads and hands, of foresight and co-operation as well as rough and enduring toil! Nothing could be so fit an emblem of this side of human life.

Again our Lord, as at Cana and at the feast of Levi, did not shrink from contact with the more dangerous and yet more poetical and noble side of human life, the life of feeling, of the heart in high pulsation, of warm excitement, of deep emotion whether for sorrow or for joy. He knew well that religion must claim this for her own or be incapable of satisfying the needs of humanity. He knew well that to lay down a rule of total abstinence from earthly enjoyments not in themselves sinful, would be not only misused by those who held intellectually wrong beliefs as to the material creation, but would lead to a revolt from religion altogether on the part of those who could not bear the heavy yoke.

It is because the Cup amongst other things symbolizes the consecration of earthly affections that we cling to it as a necessary part of Christ's ordinance. The false spirituality which denies the Cup to the laity, while it bans the marriage of the Clergy, has much to answer for; and may ask itself whether this has not something to do with the alienation of

²⁷ Cp. St. Cyprian's *Letter to Magnus*, ep. 69, cap. 5, for an application of the elements of the Eucharist, particularly the wine, "de botruis atque acinis plurimis expressum," to Christian unity, as against Novatian.

great part of society from the visible fold of Christ? Certainly in the Sacrament we are touching upon profound mysteries, intimately connected with the springs and sources of human conduct, and, though we must not be over-scrupulous or over-censorious, we cannot main or mutilate Christ's ordinance, however good the pretext may be, without a loss far greater than would at first seem possible.

3. Thirdly we must go a step higher and remind ourselves that the choice of bread and wine by our Lord was naturally linked with all the associations of Jewish sacrifice—not only with those of the Passover—and of sacrifice, as in the case of Melchisedech, outside the Law. In all the diversity of ancient ritual, both among Jews and Gentiles, something akin to these two was a constant accompaniment of sacrifice, and felt at times to be the most important part of it. The meat-offering and the drink-offering are spoken of by the Prophet (Joel ii. 15) as synonymes of a perfect sacrifice, a sacrifice, which if God gives us the means to offer it, will be a pledge to us of His favour. The words 'immolation' and 'mactation' which properly describe the sprinkling of the meal and the libation of wine, poured upon the victim's head, are used by the ancient Romans, as has been well observed, for the whole action of sacrifice. We need not go further into this topic, which has been abundantly illustrated by Archdeacon Freeman and others.²⁸

Remembering all this we cannot doubt that when our Lord said, "This is my body which is for you *or* is given for you," "This is my blood of the new covenant which is shed for you" "and for many for the remission of sins," He was consecrating Himself by this meat-offering and drink-offering for the sacrifice which was so soon to follow. If not clear then it was clear soon after. Not that we must limit the sacrifice to the moment of death, as I shall show in the next address.

It is difficult to know exactly where to place the Institution in the narrative of St. John, but the words spoken after the exit of Judas, "Now is the Son of Man glorified and God is glorified in Him," and the mention of the new commandment

²⁸ Cp. *Principles of Divine Service* vol. 2 part 2 p. 75 foll.

of love that follows are closely connected in thought with the lessons and the language of every Eucharist (xiii. 31—35). The glorification of God is by the willing acceptance on the Son's part of that Passion which was the determined issue of the Incarnation, and is brought home to us every time we sing the Hymn "Glory to God in the Highest."²⁹ The new commandment of love is surely closely connected with the new covenant of love, a covenant which is made ours not merely by acceptance of what Christ does for us, but by our sacrificing ourselves in love for our brethren after His example. Hence the Eucharist is pre-eminently a feast of love, indeed it must at one time have had the name of Agapé or Dilectio or Love.

"By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love one to another." My brethren, let us pray earnestly that we may never, by our curious speculations, or our rash censures, or our sharp controversies, profane the feast of love, and turn it into a battle ground on which one Christian is to strive to injure and assault another.

I have never been so painfully impressed with any work of art as with a large picture in the Prado or Public Gallery at Madrid, in which all the different scenes of an "Auto de Fé" an Act or Sentence of Faith, as it was called, are delineated with true Spanish realism. The commencement of all is a celebration of the Holy Sacrament; the end the burning of heretics in the name of Jesus Christ. It is easy for us to feel ashamed of such a profanation worked by Christians of another age and of another country, and separated from us by serious differences of religion. But I doubt not that the time will come when our own descendants in the Church of England will be as ashamed of the bitterness of some of our modern controversies, as modern Spaniards are of the Inquisition, which all but ruined their Church and nation, at one time perhaps the most flourishing in Christendom.

²⁹ Cp. Freeman *Principles* vol. 2, pt. 2, ch. 2, § 5. p. 315 foll., and see below, pp. 48 and 49.

II.

ON THE MEMORIAL OF CHRIST IN THE ASSEMBLY OF THE EARLY
CHURCH AND THE PRIMITIVE LITURGY.

There is a remarkable prayer¹ used on all the great Jewish Festivals, in the morning and evening and after meals, which is called from its first words the Ya'aleh v'êyâbô, which has probably been used from the third century² of our era instead of the sacrifice which can no longer be offered. It runs thus in full:—

“ Our God and the God of our Fathers, may our memorial (zikrôn) and our remembrance, and the memorial of our fathers, and the memorial of Messiah son of David thy servant, and the memorial of Jerusalem thy holy City, and the memorial of all thy people the house of Israel, ascend and come and draw near and be seen and be accepted and be heard and be looked upon and be remembered before thee, for deliverance, for good, for grace, for kindness and for compassion, for life and peace, on this day—the beginning of the Month—the day of Remembrance (new year)—the feast of Tabernacles—the feast of the Eighth day of Tabernacles—the feast of Unleavened Bread—the feast of Weeks (as the

¹ My attention was first drawn to this prayer by Archdeacon P. Freeman's *Principles*, vol. 2, pt. 2, ch. 2, § 1, p. 291, referring apparently to *The Book of Religious Ceremonies and Prayers of the Jews, as Practised in their Synagogues and Families*, tr. from the Hebrew by Gamaliel BenPedahzur, Gent. London 1738, p. 66. [I understand from Dr. Neubauer that this is a nom de plume, being that of the chief of the tribe of Manasseh (Numb. i. 10, &c.), and that the author's name was Meyers.] Freeman's method of citation is somewhat confusing, and the translation not exact, and I have translated the prayer directly from Michael Sach's *Gebetbuch der Israeliten*, Heb. and Germ., p. 436—439, ed. 2, Berlin 1859, under the heading *Tischgebet*. It may be found also in *Hebrew Prayers acc. to the Liturgy of the Israelites in Poland and Germany*, ed. H. Filipowski, p. 115 foll. Lond. J. A. Joel, 42, Fore-street, E.C. 1862 and De Sola's *Festival Prayers*.

² So I learn from Dr. Neubauer referring to Landhut's *Commentary Higgion Leb* (Meditation of the Heart), printed at Berlin.

case may be). Think on us on this day, O Lord our God, for good, and visit us on it for blessing, and help us on it for life, and for the sake of the Word that promises salvation and compassion, spare us, and be gracious to us, and have compassion upon us, and help us, for to thee are our eyes—for thou art a God [king] gracious and merciful.”

You will not be surprised at my taking this remarkable prayer as the text of my address to you on the primitive form of that Liturgy or Eucharistic service which the true Messiah bade us perform as His ἀνάμνησις or memorial. There can be no reasonable doubt that Jewish forms of prayer—especially of synagogue prayer—had great influence in the Early Church, and were often the vehicles of very similar or analogous feelings, though the subject of their relation is one confessedly of great difficulty.

There are four points which I would ask you to consider in reading or hearing this prayer.

1. *First, it is a memorial of the Messiah.* He is the only person directly mentioned in it. He is regarded as the ideal head of the race, and as having therefore an existence in all ages, even though the Jews do not yet believe him to have come. There is also in it a reference to “the Word that promises Salvation,” which suggests another thought of His presence.

2. *Secondly, it is a memorial before God.* Primarily there is no thought of man in it. The Old Testament parallels nearest seem to be in Nehemiah’s words (xiii. 14, 22, and esp. 31), “Remember me, O my God, for good,” and Jeremiah’s prayer (xv. 15) “O Lord, thou knowest: remember me and visit me.”

3. *Thirdly, it is a memorial in the place of sacrifice,* being one of two kinds of substitutes for sacrifice³ used by the Jews in their dispersions, the other naturally being the recitation of the sections of the Law relating to sacrifice.

4. *Fourthly it is, in some sort, an actual fulfilment of our Lord’s own command on the part of His own people.* They

³ The Hebrew word for *remember* (zâkar) is used of God’s accepting an offering in Ps. xx. 3, and the words for *memorial* (zikkârôn, zikrôn, azkârâh) are frequently used in close connection with sacrifice.

knew not what they did in crucifying Him; they know not what they do now in commemorating Him on all their great festivals. Yet we may surely hope that God, who sees through all the outward disguises and forms and reads the heart, accepts this prayer too when it is offered by Israelites from an honest and good heart, and looks with pity upon them for the sake of their and our Messiah.

Now if the memorial of the Messiah be so precious to the Jews themselves, what must it have been to Christians, who not only knew that He had come, but knew that He was with them, though unseen, in all their acts of public worship, who knew that in Him they had a new life, and that He was their great High Priest, passed into the Heavens, who was for ever interceding for them with the Father?

When therefore our Lord said, "Do this for my memorial," He spoke words which fell certainly upon no unprepared or inattentive ears. Those who heard Him knew the sense of the Hebrew words intuitively. They knew that by *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*, He did not mean "Do (or offer) this to remind yourselves of me," but "By this make a solemn commemoration, an *ἀνάμνησις* of me to God." You will observe also that the words are not "Do this as the memorial of my death," but as "my memorial." No doubt death is implied in the acts which are to be performed, and is part of the memorial, but it is very doubtful whether we are right in making it so nearly the whole, as we are most of us in the way of doing, and as the character and language of the Liturgies and the hymns, both ancient and modern, now in use throughout the whole Western Church, insensibly incline us from our childhood to do. This is not a question of the difference between Protestant and Catholic, Anglican or Roman, Lutheran or Calvinist forms of worship: the tendency, more or less general, to limit the commemoration to the Passion is a defect, if it be, as I think it certainly is, a defect, common to them all. The breaking of the bread is in our habitual thoughts and probably in our prayers generally connected with our Lord's body being broken on the cross. If the word "broken" (*κλάμενον*) were certainly part of the

text we should perhaps be justified in so connecting it, but the right reading of St. Luke is "given" (διδόμενον) as our Liturgy very rightly has it; and in St. Paul it is simply, "This is my body which is for you."⁴ The thought then is rather of the Body of Christ being given for us, or existing for us, as a whole; and this makes us mindful of His whole personality, His Incarnation, Infancy, Ministry, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, Session at the Right Hand of God and Second Coming, not only of the moment of His Passion.⁵ Of His Blood indeed (according to all the four accounts which have come down to us), our divine Redeemer said that it was being shed or to be shed (ἐκχυννόμενον) for the sacred purposes of our redemption, and that it was the Blood of the Covenant, or more particularly of the New Covenant—no doubt that which a study of prophecy had led them to expect in the place of the Old. This carries us at once to the thought of Sacrifice, and of Sacrifice involving the death of the Victim. But even here the thought does not rest upon the mere moment of death. The aphorism, "Without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins" (*Heb.* ix. 22) is not to be explained simply of the outpouring of the blood of the slain beasts when they received their death wound. We are apt to give far too great prominence to this in our conceptions of sacrifice. But this was not the special work of the priest. That was rather connected with the blood—the symbol of life—after it had left the body; first the reception of it, and then its application, which was, as has been well said, "the most significant part of the sacrifice."⁶

⁴ 1 *Cor.* xi. 24. τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. Many MSS. add κλάμενον, D* θρυπτόμενον, some versions have δεδομένον. Similarly in St. John vi. 51, a like shorter reading seems better attested than the longer one. "And the Bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world."—"Et panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro mundi vita," not "is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

⁵ The ancient Liturgies generally have a Memorial of the Resurrection, Ascension and Second Advent joined to that of the Death: see Hammond pp. 17, 42, 70, 112, 154, 187, 222, 270, 276, 334; and the Roman also in the 'Unde et memores' p. 336. Cp. Justin *Dial.* 70.

⁶ See Westcott *Hebrews*, p. 291, and cp. Maimonides on the Passover, *De Sacr.* i. 2, § 6 (quoted by Westcott on *Heb.* ix. 22 χάρις αἵματεκχυσίας) "The sprinkling of the blood is the main point (עיקר) in sacrifice."

In some cases it was sprinkled on the altar—in others it was applied to the horns of one or other of the altars and poured out at the base of the altar—in others it was sprinkled upon the veil—or lastly it was taken, as on the day of atonement, within the veil and sprinkled upon the mercy seat seven times and then applied to the horns of the altar of burnt offering and sprinkled upon it seven times.⁷ Then there was the consumption of the whole or part of the victim by fire—and lastly in some cases the sacrificial meal.

Now in Scripture we are taught to compare our Lord's sacrifice specially with the sin-offering, and more particularly with that of the day of atonement—on which the High priest took the blood of the victim with certain remarkable ceremonies into the Holy of Holies. This is regarded in the Epistle to the Hebrews as a symbol or type of our Lord's entrance into Heaven, through His own blood, and through the veil, which is apparently described as “the veil which is His flesh.”⁸ The latter phrase is very difficult, but receives illustration from the rending of the veil of the temple at the moment of our Saviour's death-cry. His flesh both hid the presence of God and was the destined way through which He and we enter into that presence. Now that His flesh has been torn for us upon the Cross, we through mystical union with His sacrifice, are bold to enter into the same presence into which He has gone. This is the general drift of the teaching of this great Epistle on the sacrifice of Christ; and further the Eucharist is certainly referred to in it (Heb. xiii. 10) as a feast upon the same sin-offering, which, as we know, was *not* a privilege allowed to the Jewish ministers of the Tabernacle, by whom the sin-offering was not eaten but wholly burnt outside the camp.

Taking all this together we must beware of absolutely identifying the memorial of Christ made in the Eucharist,

⁷ *Lev. xvi. 14, 15, 18, 19.* It is not said how the rest of the blood was disposed of.

⁸ *Heb. x. 20,* ἣν ἐνεκαίνισεν ἡμῖν ὁδὸν πρόσφατον καὶ ζῶσαν, διὰ τοῦ καταπέτασματος τοῦτ' ἔστι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ. Westcott connects ὁδὸν rather than καταπέτασμα with τοῦτ' ἔστι τῆς σαρκὸς.

according to His command, with the description of it given by St. Paul to meet a special difficulty, "ye do show or proclaim *the Lord's death* till He come" (1 Cor. xi. 26).⁹ The memorial certainly includes every aspect of His revelation from His Incarnation to His Ascension and present intercession for us in Heaven, which Heavens, to use the language of the same Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 23), He has purified with better sacrifices than those which under the law purified the Holy of Holies of the earthly Temple. We are to bring before God the whole dispensation of His love, the love of the Blessed Trinity united in the great work of our redemption and the redemption of the world, and to think in turn of the different moments of it. And with regard to the last mysterious point to which reference was made, the cleansing of the Heavens themselves by the entrance of Christ "through His blood," have we not in this a new thought given us to put into those hymns in which we join with the angels? This is of course the thought of *their* exultation at the victory over sin and death, brought into the world by the apostate members of their company—a victory in which they have an even stronger interest than we have—though they have not themselves sinned. How must they have grieved at the injury done to God by His noblest creatures! How must they have lamented the profanation of His near presence by the sins of Pride and Envy and Murder on the part of Satan and his fellows! How must they rejoice therefore at the victory which the Incarnation and work of Christ as man has wrought, now that His human presence has everywhere prevailed from lowest Hell to highest Heaven!

⁹ Several of the ancient Greek Liturgies, including that of St. Basil, add these words to the recital of our Lord's words of Institution; but not so S. Chrysostom's or the Roman Liturgies. They are found in the Gallican and Mozarabic, see L. Duchesne *Origines du culte Chrétien* pp. 206, 207, Paris, 1889. The Ambrosian given by Hammond *Liturgies Eastern and Western* p. 334, expands them, "Haec quotiescunque feceritis in meam commemorationem facietis, mortem meam praedicabitis, resurrectionem meam annuntiabitis, adventum meum sperabitis, donec iterum de coelis veniam ad vos."

Thoughts like these, of the fulness and life and joy of the commemoration which is ours to make, may help us in studying the early Liturgies and forms of Christian worship, and may be of practical value to us in deciding the tendency of our teaching, not only as to ritual (which is of some considerable importance), but also as to the conduct of Church business and the whole social aspect of Christian life and fellowship.

We have to think of the Memorial of Christ as covering the whole area of Christian intercourse.

I shall attempt then to give a fairly full description of a public assembly of the primitive Church for the three purposes which then as now mostly united the family of Jesus Christ (1) for public business, (2) for social enjoyment, (3) for Liturgical worship. We shall find our material chiefly in the Epistles of St. Paul and the Acts of the Apostles, but shall naturally make use of the early writers of the second and third centuries and shall not scruple to include illustrations from any sources that may be available.

The materials for this description are perhaps more abundant than we generally suppose, though the task of using them is exposed to something of the same dangers as beset the reconstruction of a work of art, say of brass or marble, mosaic or painted glass, partly from actual fragments, partly from descriptions or pictures of it as it appeared in different centuries, and partly from descriptions of other like objects. I am trying at this moment, for instance, with the help of friends who are experts, to restore the brass of Bishop Wm. Smyth, founder of Brasenose College, partly from the fragment of the stone itself, partly from a picture by Sir Wm. Dugdale, taken just before the outbreak of the Civil War, partly from parallel examples of the 16th century, and I am therefore in a position to realise the hazardous nature of such an undertaking. There was a time when it would have been impossible to attempt such tasks, whether in art or in the history of religion, without danger of perversion by prejudice; but it is I believe one of the great blessings of this age in the Church of England, that we are not only conscious

of this danger and of the directions in which it lies, but are sincerely anxious to be fair to all our fellow-Christians and to recognise that the Spirit of God works and has worked in them as well as we humbly trust in ourselves.

Let us try then to picture to ourselves¹⁰ the circumstances of such a meeting of the early Church in the latter half of the first century—say at Corinth, about which, through St. Paul's two letters and the very early letter of St. Clement, we have more detailed information than about any other single Church of that date, hardly excepting the Church of Jerusalem itself. Such assemblies were, we may suppose, held with peculiar solemnity in the afternoon and night that closed the Sabbath or Saturday and ushered in the Lord's Day. They would begin probably in the middle of the afternoon at a time when the ordinary secular business of the day was over—an hour reached in that age and country much earlier than among ourselves. The place of meeting would not be at first in a consecrated building, though the distinction between "houses to eat and to drink in" and the "Church of God" is one of St. Paul's own drawing (1 *Cor.* xi. 22). The Synagogue, which at first was partly available, had now definitely shut its doors, and there were as yet no places wholly set apart for Christian worship. The Church or Ecclesia met in the great hall or large upper room of some wealthy or liberal member. Our Lord had celebrated His last Passover in such an upper room at Jerusalem, and in such a room in the house of the family of John, surnamed Mark, who is generally identified with the Evangelist,—and possibly in the very same one—the Church of that city continued to meet. At Corinth the place of meeting was either in the house of Gaius—whom St. Paul, writing to the Romans (xvi. 23), describes as his host and the host of the whole Church—or in that of Justus, which we are told lay close to the Synagogue (*Acts* xviii. 7). At Ephesus, when the Synagogue was no longer accessible, the school of one Tyrannus, who

¹⁰ The following paragraphs up to page 49 are taken, with slight alterations and additions, from a sermon preached by me before the University of Oxford, 19 January, 1890.

was probably a sophist or teacher of rhetoric (*ib* xix. 7), afforded a temporary shelter to the Church. Justin Martyr again describes himself as holding meetings in a room, perhaps a workshop, over a bath at Rome (see *Passio Justin* 3.) But whatever might be the homeliness and simplicity, or even the secular associations of the surroundings, the assembly itself was full of reverence and order, and yet of joy. The Elders or Presbyters¹¹ of the Church sat doubtless at the upper end of the room, probably on a raised platform. We do not know their names at Corinth, but it is most likely that Crispus, if he were still alive, would be one of them; that Stephanas and some members of his family, including perhaps Epaenetus, would be others. Sosthenes again may have held such a position, first in the Jewish community and then in the Christian—if it is right to identify the ruler of the Synagogue who was beaten before Gallio with the “brother” mentioned by the Apostle in such an honourable place in the opening of the first letter to the Corinthians. One of these elders would act as president if the Apostle or his deputy were not present. The first occupation we may suppose would be the discussion of any question affecting the persons or property of the community. The assembly would be at this time a mixed one of men and women, seated side by side; for St. Luke notes this at the beginning of the Acts as characteristic of the Christian Church in opposition to the Jewish (*Acts* i. 14).¹² The separation of the sexes on different

¹¹ The ordination of Elders by the Apostles Barnabas and Paul is mentioned by St. Luke in the description of their first journey (*Acts* xiv. 23). It is his custom to give the first instance of a habitual act. From several passages of the Acts and Epistles we learn that the names of Church officers were sometimes designated by the Holy Ghost, speaking by the mouths of the prophets, probably at or after the Eucharist. Cp. *Acts* xiii. 2 (choice of Barnabas and Saul), *1 Tim.* iv. 14 (τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χάρισματος, ὃ ἐδόθη σοὶ διὰ προφητείας κ.τ.λ.) and perhaps *Acts* xx. 28 (“The flock, in which the Holy Spirit made you Bishops *or* overseers.”) See below page 54.

¹² See Dean Plumptre’s article, *S.D.B.* iii. p. 1399, for the arrangement of men and women in the Synagogue, in ancient and modern times. See also Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*, p. 291, ed. 3, Basel, 1661. The regulation of the kiss by canons of Councils, and St. Clement of Alexandria’s reference to the slanders and suspicions raised by some

sides of the church, though early, does not seem to have been absolutely primitive. But in St. Paul's own lifetime the rule was firmly established that women were not to take part in the debates, or in the public teaching of the Church¹³. A possible exception may have been made as to this rule of women speaking in public in the case of those who were known to have the gift of prophecy—such as the four daughters of Philip the Evangelist¹⁴—but it is perhaps more probable that their gift of prophecy was exercised within the family rather than in the public assemblies of the Church. The utterances also of the prophets seem to belong to a later hour or period of the meeting, rather than to the time spent in discussing details, though we cannot suppose that they were bound by rule as to this matter. In any case the business of the Church was left to men, and the ordinary ministry of the Word and Sacraments was confined to the officers of the Church.

With this exception the assemblies for debate, on such matters as we have supposed, would be of a very popular character. The adult male communicants at Corinth would seem to have had an equal voice in the trial and excommunication of the son who was guilty of such a terrible offence both against his father and against the law of God. It is expressly said that he was condemned by a majority¹⁵—no doubt a large majority—under the absent Apostle's direction. And it is implied that this exclusion from the Church carried with it a loss of Christian privileges and supports which laid the offender open to the attacks of Satan, for the punishment of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord's coming to judgment, to which the Church was always looking.

The sentence voted by the general body was of course

persons who made a licentious use of the kiss to trouble the Church (*Paedag.* iii. 11, § 81), show that the Church of old differed from the Synagogue in this particular. Cp. *Seudamore N.E.*, pp. 498, 500 foll., 503.

¹³ 1 *Cor.* xiv. 33, 34, 35; 1 *Tim.* ii. 12.

¹⁴ Cp. 1 *Cor.* xi. 5 and *Acts* xxi. 8.

¹⁵ ἡ ἐπιτιμία ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων, 2 *Cor.* ii. 6.

pronounced by the President, and would not, we may suppose, have been valid without his ratification.

In the other letter dealing with the inner life of this same Church, written by St. Clement in the name of the Church of Rome probably before the end of the century, we find clear indications of the continuance of the same popular organisation. The elders there referred to are described as appointed by the Apostles, or afterwards by other men of repute, "with the consent of the whole Church" (ch. 41). And in another place there is a clear reference to a vote of the general body of the Church carrying with it a sentence of exile upon persons who had caused faction and strife, though of course not to be enforced with civil penalties (*ib.* 54).

Questions then of discipline and respecting the recognition of clergy were discussed in the full assembly, though it is clear that reference to special judges was a natural expedient resorted to when necessary. Other questions brought before the same assembly would be those of finance, and the appointment of messengers and delegates to carry letters or to go on embassies to other churches, or to administer funds belonging to or collected by the Church. Such delegates are referred to by St. Paul as to be selected to carry the collection for the poor Christians at Jerusalem (1 *Cor.* xvi. 3). Such were Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus (*ib.* 17)—the bearers of the Corinthian letter to which this is in great part an answer. Such were many others whose names or descriptions are scattered up and down the epistles of the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic age.

When Tertullian wrote, more than a hundred years later than the time we have supposed, some changes had already been introduced, in the province of Africa, of which he was speaking, such as the general substitution of a monthly for a weekly collection. But he gives an account of the purposes of Church finance, which in its outline was doubtless true of the first age also. He is meeting a supposed objection that the offices of the Church might be places of ambition on account of the control of the common funds. "Even if there be with us a sort of public Chest (*arca*), no sum is therein collected

discreditable to religion as though she were bought. Every man placeth there a small gift on one day of each month or whensoever he will, so he do but will, and so he be but able ; for no man is constrained but contributeth willingly. These are as it were the deposits of piety ; for afterwards they are not disbursed in feasting and in drinking, and in disgusting haunts of gluttony, but for feeding and burying the poor, for [educating] boys and girls without a fortune and without parents, for [supporting] old men now confined to the house, for the shipwrecked also, and for any who in the mines [as convicts], or in the islands [as places of exile], or in prisons, are pensioners of their Creed, provided only they are sent there for the cause of the way of God. But it is the exercise of this sort of love which doth, with some, chiefly brand us with a mark of evil. ‘*See (they say) how these Christians love one another*’—for in truth they themselves hate one another ; and ‘*See how ready they are to die for each other*’—for they themselves are more ready to slay each other.” (*Apol.* 39).

The same spirit of love and simplicity was carried into all the other proceedings of the assembly. It is difficult to be certain as to the exact order in which the various actions were performed, nor is it likely that there was constant uniformity even in the same place. But it would seem probable that the feast called the Agapé would follow closely on the conclusion of the business of the Church. It seems to have been held in daylight, and therefore not later than four or five o’clock in the afternoon. It was doubtless, like the Paschal Supper, from which it seems to have derived much of its character, interspersed with prayers and blessings, and with the reading of Scripture, as well as with the more joyous accompaniments of psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, and of familiar conversation especially on religious subjects.

Tertullian again gives the fullest account of such a festival. “Nothing mean, nothing unclean has any admittance here ; we taste first of prayer to God before we sit down to meat ; we eat only what suffices nature, and drink no more than what is strictly becoming chaste and regular persons. We satisfy

appetite as those who know that they must wake in the night to the service of God, and discourse as those who remember that they are in the hearing of their Master. When supper is ended and we have washed our hands and the lights are brought in, every one is invited to sing praises to God, either such as he collects from the Holy Scriptures, or such as are of his own composing." (*Apol.* 39).¹⁶

The actual benedictions of the food at the Agapé would be founded probably on Jewish benedictions, but enlarged in a Christian sense. Such seem to be those earlier thanksgivings preserved in the *Teaching of the Apostles*, first for the cup and then for the bread, which have often been treated, but I think mistakenly, as if they were actually prayers of Eucharistic consecration in the ordinary sense. The reason for thinking that they are not so is (1) that they occur in a treatise for popular use, addressed apparently to the newly baptized; (2) that they are wholly dissimilar from any consecration prayers that have come down to us; (3) that the thanksgiving for the cup comes first; and (4) that after them we read of further thanksgivings, *μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*, "after ye are filled," i.e., after the meal is over. This is important evidence of the continuance of the Agapé in its earliest place before the Eucharist proper, probably to the end of the first century. We shall consider in the next address at what date and under what circumstances it was dissociated from the Communion.

The Thanksgiving over the cup is as follows:—"We thank thee, O our Father, for the holy vine of David thy child, "which thou hast made known to us by thy child Jesus"—this is instead of the ordinary Jewish thanksgiving for the creation of the "fruit of the vine." The "vine of David" is the Church as Christ's body. Then follows:—"We thank thee, O our Father, for the life and knowledge "which thou hast made known to us by thy child Jesus. "Thine be the glory for ever. As this broken bread (*κλάσμα*) "was once scattered upon the mountains, and being gathered

¹⁶ Tertullian, after he became a Montanist, was not ashamed to take up the heathen slanders against the Agapae in his *de Ieiuniis* 17.

“together became one: so let thy church be gathered together
“from the ends of the earth unto thy kingdom. For thine is
“the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever.”
(*Teaching*, chap. ix.)

With the entrance of the lights began probably the more solemn and sacred part of the work of the Christian assembly.

We have, happily, preserved to us one of the hymns of which Tertullian speaks, which in the age of St. Basil (*De Spiritu Sancto* 29), in the second half of the fourth century, was of unknown authorship, and considered of primitive antiquity. “Our fathers (he writes, defending the divinity of the Holy Spirit) thought it not right to receive the joyous gift (χάρις) of evening light in silence, but directly it appeared to give thanks. And though we cannot say who was the author of those words in the thanksgiving at the lighting of the lamps, yet it is certainly a primitive (ἀρχαίαν) utterance to which the people gives voice, and no one yet has ever thought them guilty of an impiety for saying

We hymn the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit divine.”

This may be as early as the first or second century, and be one of the hymns in which “Christ is adored as God,” of which Pliny and St. Hippolytus write from such opposite quarters.¹⁷

If we are right in thinking that the lighting of the lamps was the prelude to the Eucharist, it is easy to see how, without anything forced or strained, they were recognised as symbolising the presence of Christ the Light of the world. He had promised His presence wherever two or three were gathered together in His name. And so the spontaneous outburst of Christian piety recognised in the gift of light and in

¹⁷ See Pliny *Letters to Trajan*, 96, “Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse “summam vel culpae suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante “lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem,” &c. I assume that the treatise *against Artemon*, quoted by Eusebius *H.E.* v. 28 is by St. Hippolytus. It is at any rate of his date (circa A.D. 200). The writer asks, § 5, “How many psalms and songs are there “written by faithful brethren from the beginning, which hymn Christ, “the word of God, as God?” and cp. Origen *against Celsus* viii. 67.

the suddenness of the change which it wrought, even in the simple array of lamps in the upper chamber, such as St. Paul had round him at Troas (*Acts* xx. 8), something really akin to the gift of our Lord to a gloomy and darkened world. It saw in the transition something recalling the circumstances of His Nativity, when the true Light that lighteth every man came into the world. Without anything artificial or superstitious this old hymn-writer or prophet, for the words are more akin to prophetic rhythm—recalled the primary truth that the God of Nature is the same as the God of Grace, and that He who said “Let there be light” in the material heavens also sent His Son to repair the defects of natural light, and to give the joy of a new birth to men.

It was said by one of old, “at eventide there shall be light,” and so it was actually at the birth of Christ. The sun had gone down on the hills of Bethlehem, but the Glory of the Lord suddenly shone round about the shepherds, and they heard angel voices proclaiming the new-born king, with a promise of peace on earth and good-will towards men.

If we consider all this together we may perhaps conjecture that the original position of the holy kiss, symbolical of Christian love and peace, and of the absence of all hatred and variance in the community, was coincident with the conclusion of the supper and with the lighting of the lamps, followed by the singing of this or some similar song of praise and adoration.

Though the hymn is doubtless well known to all here, let me repeat it (in Mr. Keble’s version), while the circumstances to which it was apparently originally adapted are fresh in your memory.

Hail! gladdening Light, of His pure glory poured,
 Who is the immortal Father, heavenly, blest,
 Holiest of holies—Jesus Christ our Lord!
 Now we are come to the sun’s hour of rest:
 The lights of evening round us shine,
 We hymn the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit divine!
 Worthiest art thou at all times to be sung
 With undefiled tongue,
 Son of our God, giver of life alone!
 Therefore in all the world Thy glories, Lord, they own.

It is not impossible that the first ten verses of the *Te Deum* are translated from a similar early Greek hymn, also addressed to our Lord, and sung, not at the lighting of the lamps, but at the reading of the Gospel. The short antiphons or responses, which it is still customary to say at the beginning and end of the Gospel, *Glory be to Thee, O Lord*, and *Thanks be to Thee, O Lord* [*for this Thy holy Gospel*], and the like, are relics of the same usage which have come down to our own day.

The actual song of the angels at the Nativity, which has been expanded into the *Gloria in Excelsis* as it appears in our Liturgy, might very well have been sung at this time—but there is evidence rather to the contrary, and it is probable that it was *not* at first a Eucharistic Hymn.¹⁷ It is now found at the opening of the service in the Roman service book: but it is equally in place where we use it as a thanksgiving after Communion.

There is another element of the Liturgy which is most certainly primitive, the exact place of which it is difficult to fix—though it clearly belongs to the early part of the service. This is the public confession of sins, which is referred to in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, chap. xiv., as preceding the Eucharist. It is to this public confession that St. James probably also refers at the end of his epistle (v. 16). It may be paralleled with the precept in Leviticus (v. 5, 6), and with a prayer said by the Jewish priests before offering sacrifice. (*Dict. of Chr. Ant. s. v. Confession, Liturgical.*)

The reading of passages from Holy Scripture suitable to the seasons and festivals was adopted no doubt from the Jewish Synagogue service for the Sabbath, in which our Lord Himself took the part of a reader (*Luke* iv. 16), pro-

¹⁷ See *Gloria in Excelsis* in *Dict. of Christian Antiquities* and cp. Scudamore *Not. Euch.* pp. 784, foll. ed. 2. It is not mentioned by S. Germanus in his full account of the Liturgy, but he says that the words, “Glory be to Thee O Lord” were uttered by the clerks “in specie angelorum qui nascente Domino *Gloria in Excelsis* pastoribus apparentibus cecinerunt” (Migne *Pat. Lat.* 72 p. 91). St. Germanus died about 585 A.D. The hymn as a “morning hymn” is given in the *Codex Alexandrinus* of the Greek Bible.

bably on many occasions. St. James reminded his hearers at the Council of Jerusalem that the influence of the Jewish Law would naturally tell upon Christians who attended these Synagogue services—as many no doubt still continued to do—unless the Council made a definite rule about what observances it would consider binding, “For Moses from generations of old hath in every Synagogue them that preach him; being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath” (*Acts* xv. 21). It is well to remember that this same Apostle writing to Christians uses the name “Synagogue” rather than “Church” for the assemblies of the faithful, a term very suggestive of at any rate an external likeness in the mode of worship.

In the very earliest days these lessons from the Old Testament would be the only lessons, except when some epistle of an apostle was introduced—either one just received or one which was treasured up in the church chest. I need not remind you how St. Paul several times refers to such reading of his letters in the public service.¹⁸ The order in which these three lessons appear in some of the old books—viz., Prophecy, Epistle, and Gospel—is no doubt historically important. It represents the order in which they were introduced into the service of the Church, first the Old Testament lesson, then that of the Epistle, and then the Gospel, when the Gospels were written. But the Gospel lesson was probably introduced very early, that is to say as soon as the Apostles ceased to be present in the flesh, and perhaps even before that time. Nothing can be so important to a well-instructed Christian as to possess a full and accurate account of the words and acts of our Saviour; and directly our forefathers did so, even if the form may have been less perfect than that which we now possess, there was every reason why they should make much of it and place it on as high a level as the writings of the Prophets. I do not myself doubt that St. Paul cites a saying of our Lord’s as “Scripture,” side by side with a quotation from the Old

¹⁸ 1 *Thess.* v. 27., 2 *Cor.* i. 13, *Eph.* iii. 4, *Col.* iv. 16.

Testament, in his first epistle to Timothy (v. 18), or that St. Peter reckons up St. Paul's epistles as "Scriptures" (2 *Pet.* iii. 16), though it has been the fashion amongst critics either to doubt these obvious interpretations, or to throw discredit upon the authenticity of the writings in which they occur. The frequent reminders in the *Teaching of the Apostles* of precepts given by the Lord "in the Gospel," shew that the language at any rate of His discourses was familiar to all Christians, even to those who required rudimentary teaching. This could hardly be except through public reading, and this public reading would almost necessarily be at the Eucharistic service, which was apparently the first introduced into the Church.

Justin Martyr,¹⁹ who wrote about A.D. 140, is the first who actually mentions this reading, but the language in which he does so implies that it was not a new custom. "On the day called Sunday (he writes, 1 *Apol.* 67, describing what was done for the benefit of the Emperor Antoninus Pius and his adopted sons) an assembly gathers together of all [of us] who dwell in cities or country places and the memoirs of the Apostles or writings of the Prophets are read as far as time permits. Then, when the reader has finished, the President makes an address admonishing and urging [those present] to an imitation of such noble [precepts.]"

You will notice that he puts the Memoirs or Commentaries of the Apostles—which he elsewhere calls "Gospels"—first, showing that they had already begun to take the principal place in the thoughts of Christian people. In his time it was apparently customary to read only one lection, and that probably a much longer one than those now in use. If we wish to realise the character of the primitive Liturgy in this matter we cannot in our own Church approach to it nearer than by a study of the services for Holy Week, in which, as you will remember, readings from the Prophet Isaiah are on

¹⁹ Tertullian *de praescript. haeret.* 36 is also quoted, but he does not expressly say that the "reading of the Law and the Prophets together with the Evangelical and Apostolic writings" was at the Eucharist. Most probably it was.

two days substituted for the Epistle, and those from the Gospels are much longer than usual. Even more evident traces of the triple lesson are preserved in the Roman services for Holy Week.²⁰ Its general use was suppressed at Rome in the fifth century; but it lasted longer in the Gallican Liturgy and is, I believe, still retained amongst the Armenians.²¹ We may, if we choose, consider the recitation of the Ten Commandments among ourselves as a constant prophetic lesson, interspersed (after the ancient fashion) with responses.

It is surely a precious witness to the unity of the Church that, in her most solemn service, lessons from the Bible *and nothing else*, as far as we know, are everywhere read as the basis of the Christian teaching which is to follow, and to prepare Christ's flock for closest communion with Him.

The Creed which follows in existing Liturgies was of course not part of the primitive Liturgy, as it was not drawn up till the fourth century. It is said to have been first introduced into the service about A.D. 469 by Peter the Fuller, Patriarch of Antioch, and his example followed in 510 by Timotheus of Constantinople.²² Hence it gradually spread, but even now it is by no means at all times said in the Western Church.²³ Our Church has done well to make it universal so that we have in turn the witness first of the Law, then of the Apostles, then of the Gospels, then of the Church Universal, and lastly in the sermon of the living minister, all conspiring to testify to the faith in Jesus Christ once for all delivered to the Saints.

²⁰ See Duchesne *Origines* p. 160—an interesting passage. He explains (with great probability) the double piece of chanting after the Epistle, viz., the *Gradual* and *Alleluia*, or the *Gradual* and *Tractus* in certain seasons of penitence, as a relic of the two lessons which preceded the Gospel.

²¹ Duchesne l.c. pp. 160 and 185 foll. It remained in the Ambrosian Liturgy up to the 11th century.

²² See the details in Scudamore *N.E.* pp. 268 foll. St. Augustine addressing catechumens about to be baptized tells them that at the altar service they will hear the Lord's Prayer daily "but ye do not daily hear the Creed" (*Serm.* 58 § 12, 13, vol. v. col. 490 Gaume).

²³ The Roman rubric of the *Ordo Missalis* is "Deinde ad medium altaris extendens, elevans, et jungens manus dicit, si dicendum est, *Credo in unum Deum.*" Gavantus ed. Merati i. p. 56, 1749, and Thallhofer *Kath. Liturgik* ii. p. 130, Freiburg 1890, explain this.

The sermon is, as you will remember, referred to by Justin Martyr, but this also was by no means universal in the Church, particularly in the West. I will quote the words of a modern Roman Catholic writer of repute—the Abbé Duchesne—which may serve to explain something of the darkness which settled down upon the Church of Rome in the 8th and 9th and following centuries, the diversion of the priesthood to the work of external service, and the discontinuity of Christian teaching there which has been a great injury to the Church. “After the lections we ought to find the sermon. But at Rome the sermon appears to have fallen pretty early into disuse. St. Gregory and before him St. Leo are the only ancient Popes whose sermons are extant or who are even known to have delivered sermons. Further the sermons of St. Leo are short, and reserved for certain solemn days. The Roman priests had not the right of preaching, and the Popes were jealous lest other Bishops should permit their priests to do so. Sozomen, who wrote about the time of Xystus III., reports that no one preached at Rome.”²⁴

We have now reached the close of the first part of the Liturgy, the point when in early times Catechumens were dismissed, and must reserve what is to be said of the second part for the next Address. I will only add here, what will not be so well in place there, that the direction of that more solemn service seems in quite the earliest times to have been more specially the duty of the apostolic, prophetic, or missionary officers of the Church—those in fact who had special Charismata or spiritual gifts, and from them to have passed naturally to the local and permanent ministry. We

²⁴ L. Duchesne *Origines du culte Chrétien* p.163. For the last statements he refers to a letter of Pope Celestine to the Bishops of Provence, Jaffé 381, and Sozomen *H.E.* vii. 19. The reference to Jaffé's *Regesta* should apparently be A.D. 431 p. 32, and the letter speaks rather of heretical (Pelagian) preaching, than of preaching in general. It may be found in full in P. Coustant *Rom. Pont. Epistolae* p. 1185, Paris 1721 and elsewhere. At most it asserts the Bishops' right to be the chief Teachers of the Church, and their delinquency in letting others teach error while they are silent as to the truth. Underlying all this may be a kind of class jealousy of the presbyters' rights.

have already noticed the well-known text, "As they ministered to the Lord and fasted the Holy Ghost said, 'Separate me 'Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called 'them'" (*Acts* xiii. 2 p. 42 n. 11). Other sayings of the Holy Ghost may be understood of the voices of the prophets, speaking probably in the Eucharistic assembly (*Acts* xvi. 6, 7, xx. 28). The "faithful sayings" of the Pastoral Epistles are of similar character.

The general result of the picture we have drawn is to give us a sense of the fulness of Christian fellowship as an ideal at which to aim. The methods of the Early Church are not to be followed strictly as a legal model. But the results, both as to Church business and social converse and worship, must by some means be reached if we are not to fall away from the true type of Churchmanship.

In regard to Church business we have already made some considerable progress towards a restoration of the laity to their proper duties. They seem never to have included the definition of doctrine or the control of divine service, but they did embrace a much more active and personal participation in Christian work than has often been customary among us. The last twenty years have witnessed the establishment in nearly every Diocese of a Conference or representative Synod of clergy and laity to attend to these duties. It is but a short period of trial, and we must not judge of their future usefulness simply by the past. But it is clear that they are altogether in the lines that St. Paul contemplated when he gave ordinances to the churches which he founded. The main difficulty before us is the application of similar principles to parochial life. Here public opinion is often weak, and a single ill-disposed person may hamper or destroy what should be the work of a united parish. The very lax ideas of schism that are prevalent amongst the less educated, the little personal jealousies, which prevent one moving unless another will do so, the readiness to take offence and to believe evil—these are no doubt the results of the absence in the past of training in Church business, but they are also very great obstacles to its restoration.

The time has not come for any wide establishment of Parochial Councils, and in any case the Diocese not the Parish is the true unit of Church life; but there are many other ways in which the adult male members of a parish may be drawn into loving union and co-operation. Perhaps one of the most hopeful and helpful would be an assembly of fathers of families for the purpose of considering the question of education in general and the future employment of their children in particular.

The lessons of the Agapé again have been gradually learnt as regards the importance of large social gatherings, parochial entertainments and the like, in all well ordered parishes and dioceses—but there still remains much to learn. The kiss of charity is hardly likely to be given usefully amongst men except on some solemn occasion, such as the reception of a Bishop by his Chapter, but are we not often too reserved with other signs of greeting? “All the brethren greet you,” writes St. Paul. Christians should not be afraid to shake hands at least with one another, and to greet one another with smiles of recognition, if not at every meeting yet at certain times of freer intercourse.

I have heard of churches where, after the sermon, the congregation often remained to thank the Minister and shake hands with him. Where this is a natural expression of feeling and not something artificial and affected—tending to exalt the man at the expense of his message—it is surely in the spirit of the early Church.

For my own part I wish, wherever I may be in the Diocese, to enter into some Christian and friendly relation, however transient, with every person I meet. It is a difficult thing to carry out in the hurry of railway travelling and on the roads and in the press and necessary preoccupation of business. But if you, dear brethren, will help me—and specially if clergy and people, farmers and labourers, employers and employed, and their respective wives, will do the same at least in their own Parishes—we shall be preparing the way for that united action which both the needs of our own time and the example of early days certainly demand of us.

III.

THE PRIMITIVE LITURGY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
MANNER AND FORM OF CONSECRATION.

In the previous address we traced out the different stages of the primitive Liturgy—considered as forming part of the general assembly of the Christian Church—as far as the delivery of the Sermon.

The subject of this present address will be the more solemn part of the service beginning with the dismissal of the Catechumens or candidates for Baptism, which followed the Sermon.

It has been sometimes questioned (as by de Pressensé) how far this dismissal was primitive. It is true that Justin Martyr says nothing about it, but it might well be a detail on which he would not insist in giving such a description as that which he has introduced into his Apology. Something of the kind seems certainly an almost necessary feature of the Liturgy. For he says that none but baptized persons were allowed to partake of the Eucharist, and that each of those that were present did so (1 *Apol.* 65, 66).

Either therefore none other than baptized persons had been present throughout, or they had been dismissed at some point in the service which is not noticed. But the assemblies for public worship seem from the first to have been open to others besides Christians, as the Synagogue services were apparently open to Gentiles. This openness of the Synagogues, at least in some places, may be gathered from the description in the Acts of what happened at Antioch in Pisidia on the occasion of St. Paul's first visit. On the first Sabbath after their arrival Paul and Barnabas, as usual, attended the Synagogue, and were invited to preach after the

reading of the Law and the Prophets. After the sermon St. Paul was asked to repeat what he had said on the next Sabbath, and when he did so "almost the whole city came together to hear the Word of God" (*Acts* xiii. 14, 42, 44), apparently to the Synagogue. As regards the Church, which certainly was not less accessible than the Jewish Synagogue, the entrance into it of unbelievers is taken for granted by St. Paul as a natural incident (1 *Cor.* xiv. 23, 24); and St. James in his Epistle seems to imply that a rich man, even if he were not a Christian, might come in to take a seat in the Christian "Synagogue" and be preferred to the poor "rich in faith" (ii. 2, 5, 7). Then there would be the unconverted members of a family, children and dependents, who would come in with their relatives and masters. These would naturally be dismissed, and hence grew up in time a regular form of dismissal proclaimed by the Deacon, traces of which lasted on into the middle ages.¹

A few words may also be said by way of introduction as to the frequency of the celebration and the hour at which the Sacrament was administered. There can be no doubt that from the very first the first day of the week or Sunday was kept as the memorial of the Lord's Resurrection, and was hallowed by the commemoration of Himself which He desired His Church to make. At first, we may suppose, in the Church of Palestine, and others under the influence of Jewish modes of thought, the evening of the Sabbath or Saturday, after sunset, would be considered the beginning of the Lord's day. Hence the Agapé would be followed immediately by

¹ See the Section in *Scndamore N.E.* p. 335 foll. headed *The dismissal of the Catechumens and other non-communicants*. The word "missa," a doublet of "missio," = dismissal, (as in the phrases "missa catechumenorum" and "Ite: missa est" at the end of the service), gradually changed its meaning, in popular and incorrect parlance, and came to be used for the service ended by the dismissal, and then as a synonym for Liturgy or Prayer. Hence the word "mass." The word is used in its original sense in a Canon of the Fourth Council of Carthage A.D. 398, which ordained that "the Bishop should forbid no one, whether heathen or heretic or Jew, to enter the Church and hear the Word of God so far as the dismissal (missam) of the Catechumens" (canon 84, *Bruns* p. 149).

the celebration of the Sacrament some time in the night which ushered in the Sunday. Such a celebration appears to have been the one held at Troas as described in the Acts (xx. 7, 8, 11).² Such a one is also implied in the book called the *Teaching of the Apostles*, i.e. one succeeding a common meal.

When the Agapé was separated from the celebration of the Eucharist it would be natural to keep generally to the same time, but with such variation of the hour as would be suitable and convenient to those who had taken no food before the service. It would be natural, that is to say, to choose an hour still in the night time, but *after* not before sleep.

We find distinct traces of this change in Pliny's famous *Letter to Trajan* (96), written apparently in the year 112 A.D. The persons whom he examined informed him that "they were accustomed on a fixed day to meet before day-break and to sing a hymn to Christ as to a God [they spoke, we must remember, as renegades] in response to one another, and to bind themselves with a sacrament (*or oath*) not to the commission of any crime, but not to commit thefts, robberies, adulteries, not to break their promise not to refuse to return a trust when called upon; after performing which things they had a custom of departing, and of coming together again to take food, but of a simple and innocent character; and that they had left off even this since the publication of my edict, in which according to your commands I had forbidden the formation of clubs (*hetærias*).” The religious service is here stated to have been still before daylight, but followed, not preceded, by the social meal, and it seems that the latter was being given up

² Bishop Chr. Wordsworth considers that the assembly took place on the afternoon or evening of Sunday, and was continued till Monday morning; but this seems less probable. The Sunday celebration is expressly mentioned in the *Teaching of the Apostles*, ch. xiv., "On the Lord's-day of the Lord [*i.e.*, as opposed to the "Sabbath of the Lord"] gather together and break bread and give thanks," &c., and Justin I *Apol.* 67 (twice), and probably referred to by Barnabas, xv., "Therefore we keep the eighth day with rejoicing, being the day on which Jesus rose again from the dead," and Pliny, *Letters to Trajan* 96 and Trajan's reply. See above p. 47 note, and both letters, with full notes, in Lightfoot's *Ignatius* i. pp. 50—56.

on account of the well-known jealousy of the Roman Government of all kinds of guilds and voluntary societies. Thus the fear of government interference, the desire to disarm heathen calumnies, and the wish to avoid such real disorders as St. Paul noted and reproved at Corinth, would be motives all uniting to separate the Agapé from the Eucharist and to bring the latter from a night service to one just before day-break and gradually just after it. We may date this change about the time of the persecution of Trajan, of which Pliny's letter describes one chapter, since in the state of things presupposed in the Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Smyrneans (ch. 8) the Eucharist and the Agapé still seem to be united, while in the careful description given by Justin Martyr (*circa* 140 A.D.) they appear to be quite separate.³ From Justin's account it would seem that the assembly took place in the morning in the countries with which he was familiar. This was in fact almost a necessity of the case in a society numbering many slaves amongst its members, who would of course have to work on Sunday as well as on other days. It was only in out of the way places, as in parts of Egypt, that the custom of celebrating the Eucharist, after a meal and in the evenings, still continued.⁴ I shall say a few words both

³ See Bp. Lightfoot *Ignatius* i. pp. 52, 386 and note in *Ad Smyrn.* 8. To "hold a love-feast" here clearly implies a concomitant celebration of the Eucharist. The Emperor's jealousy of secret societies is well illustrated by Lightfoot from Pliny's letters to Trajan 42 and 43, *ib.* p. 19. It may be remarked that the difference between Ignatius and Justin is an argument for the early date of Ignatius' Epistles though not by itself an absolute proof. For the early hour of celebration *cp.* Tertullian *de corona* 3. "The sacrament of the Eucharist though it "was commanded by the Lord at meal time (*or* during a meal) and to "all, we take in assemblies before day-break (*etiam antelucanis coetibus*), "and from the hand of no others except our Presidents," and 2 *ad Uxorē* 5 (dissuading from marriage with a heathen). "Your husband "will not know what you are tasting secretly before all other food." The suggestion about Sunday work is from C. Prichard and E. R. Bernard's *Selected Letters of Pliny* p. 163, Oxford 1872.

⁴ Socrates *Hist. Eccl.* v 22 describing peculiarities of Church custom and ritual. "The Egyptians in the neighbourhood of Alexandria and the inhabitants of Thebais . . . after having eaten and satisfied themselves with food of all kinds, in the evening make their offerings and partake of the mysteries."

on the frequency of celebration and the hours most suitable for it in my next address. I may add, however, here that the fact that each Sunday was marked by a celebration of the Lord's Supper may make us quite certain that the general principles of the service were thoroughly understood by those who refer to it or describe it, and that there is no room to doubt the primitive character of the main lines of the tradition which has come down to us. Let us then piece together Justin's two accounts of the service so as to form one description, since we have no other so full and explicit of this early date. The fact that it was a public description given in an apology or petition for toleration, presented to the Emperor and chief men of the Roman Emperor, gives its positive statements additional weight, though no doubt such a circumstance might lead to the avoidance of minute detail and elaborate explanation.

After the reading of "The Memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets" comes, as we have seen, the sermons in which the lessons of these Scriptures are enforced by the presiding minister. "Then we all rise up in a body and put up prayers" (ch. 67). These Justin describes as "common prayers" made by "those who are called brethren" . . . "both for themselves, and the newly-baptized person, and all others everywhere with earnest purpose, that we having learnt the truth, may have grace to act as good representatives of it and to be found keeping the commandments which we have received, that we may be saved with an eternal salvation. When we have concluded our prayers we salute one another with a kiss. Afterwards there is brought to the President of the brethren bread and a cup of water and wine, and he, receiving it, offers up praise and glory to the Father of all things, through the name of the Son and the holy Spirit and makes a thanksgiving of some length for His goodness in vouchsafing to give us these things" (65). In the second passage he says:—"When we have finished our prayer bread is brought and wine and water, and the President likewise utters prayers and thanksgivings with all his power" (67).

“ When he has ended his prayers and thanksgivings all the
“ people that is present adds with loud voice *Amen*. Now
“ *Amen* means in the Hebrew tongue *So be it*. And when
“ the President has given thanks and all the people has
“ answered, those who are called among us Deacons give to
“ each of those who are present to partake of the bread over
“ which thanks has been given, and of the wine and water,
“ and it is sent by the Deacon's hands to those who are absent”
(65). “ And those who are well off and benevolent give each
“ according to his own purpose, (cf. 2 *Cor.* ix. 7) what he wills ;
“ and that which is collected is laid up in the hands of the
“ President, and he helps orphans and widows and those who
“ are in need on account of sickness or any other cause, and
“ those who are in bonds, and those who are sojourners in a
“ strange land, and in fact he is the kinsman and helper of
“ all those who are in want. But we keep the Sun-day by
“ coming all together in this manner inasmuch as it is the
“ first day on which God set Himself to turn darkness and
“ matter by creation into an orderly world, and Jesus Christ
“ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead. For
“ they crucified Him the day before Saturn's-day (Satur-day),
“ and the day after Satur-day, which is Sun-day, appearing
“ to His apostles and disciples He taught them these things
“ which we have now proposed to your consideration” (67).

In the chapter which intervenes between the two descriptions which we have thrown into one he says something about the doctrine of the Sacrament which bears upon the form of consecration and must therefore be mentioned here. After saying that none but baptized persons may partake of “ this food called Eucharist (or Thanksgiving)” he goes on, “ For
“ we do not receive these things as common bread or common
“ drink, but just as Jesus Christ our Saviour becoming in-
“ carnate through the Word of God took flesh and blood for
“ our salvation, so also we have been taught that the food
“ which has become Eucharist by means of the word of
“ prayer which comes from Him, from which (food) our
“ blood and flesh receive nourishment by assimilation, is the
“ flesh likewise and blood of that Jesus who was incarnate.

“For the Apostles in the Memoirs which they composed, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered to us that they received a commandment; that Jesus having taken bread gave thanks and said, *Do this for my memorial, this is my body*, and likewise having taken the cup gave thanks and said, *This is my blood*, and gave it to them alone.” By the *word of God* through which our Lord became Incarnate (according to Justin) I understand the message of the angel at the Annunciation, and by the *word of prayer which comes from Him* (δι’ ἐνῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῦ) I understand, as on the whole most probable, the Lord’s Prayer, which is the only form of Prayer known to have been given by our Lord for the use of His Church. I shall speak of this more at length in the latter part of this address.

We are now in a position to compare the description given by Justin with the actual forms of service that have come down to us. Allowing then for the circumstances attending his Apology we may be almost surprised how clearly the character of the service corresponds with what we know to have been the usage at a later date. The action may be divided into five parts. I. First the “common prayers,” said by all together standing, which correspond in their general contents with the “prayer of the faithful” which in the Liturgies succeeds the dismissal of the Catechumens. II. Then follows the kiss of Salutation or Peace as in the Greek Liturgies. III. Then the Offering of Bread and a mixed Cup, brought to the celebrant. IV. Then his prayers and thanksgivings made alone, followed with or accompanied by what we suppose to have been the Lord’s prayer, to all which the people answers *Amen*: and V. Lastly the distribution of the food called Eucharist. These five actions correspond generally to the order both of Eastern and Western Liturgies except that the kiss was given at Rome and in Africa after the consecration, and at Rome the Lord’s Prayer was probably not part of the consecration Prayer till the time of Gregory the Great.

Let us take each of these five points in turn.

I.—THE INTERCESSION FOR ALL MEN BEFORE THE
OFFERTORY.

This is one of the most important points of the Liturgy, considered as a memorial of our great High Priest, who is passed into heaven and under the cover of whose intercessions we are bold to approach the throne of grace (*Heb.* iv. 14, 16). He has given us a type of what He desires such prayers to be in the only prayer He has left us, the Lord's prayer, the first half of which is clearly a petition for the conversion of all men, for the good government of the world and of the Church, and for the sanctification of human wills after the pattern of angelic service. Nor did our Lord leave His desires on these points vague and indefinite. He bade us in the Sermon on the Mount not only to love our enemies and bless those that curse us, but to pray for those that despitefully use us and persecute us (*Matt.* v. 44); He exhorted His disciples to pray the Lord of the harvest that He would send forth labourers into His harvest (*ib.* ix. 38); He laid down the far-reaching principle of rendering to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's (*Matt.* xxii. 21 and parallels); He spoke of God's love to the world in giving His only begotten son, and when moved by the coming of the firstfruits of the Gentiles, He described His lifting up from the earth as something that would draw all men to Him (*John* iii. 15, 17, xii. 32); and finally upon the cross He prayed for His murderers (*Luke* xxiii. 34). It is only a natural extension of His master's precept and example that made St. Paul describe his own great heaviness and continual sorrow of heart in thinking of his countrymen, and, in his magnificent hyperbole, assert his wish that he himself could be accursed from Christ for their sake (*Rom.* ix. 1); and that his heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel was that they might be saved (*ib.* x. 1). It was only a simple rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's that made him exhort one of the Bishops appointed by himself, no doubt for the purposes of Liturgical worship, "that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions and
" giving of thanks be made for all men; for kings and for

“all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour; who will have all men to be saved and to come unto the knowledge of the truth” (1 *Tim.* ii. 1—4).

It is clear from this that the Intercessions of the Church as a body ought not to be limited to the welfare and growth in grace of her own members: but ought to include at least three other great Intercessions. The first is for the conversion of Israel; the second for the conversion of the heathen and for the sending forth of missionaries to them; the third for civil rulers, whether they be Christian or infidel, heretics or orthodox. We shall find, I regret to say, that these duties have been very much overlooked and obscured, partly by natural selfishness and want of public spirit, which is a danger of Christians as of other human beings, partly owing to the provocation of opponents, partly by the tendency to fix the Liturgies irrespective of change of circumstances, partly I fear by independence on the part of the priesthood, and partly by certain dogmatic prepossessions. The last can only be just touched upon as having a long history, which has perhaps been insufficiently attended to. I mean particularly to refer to the principle which St. Augustine asserts as a definite rule of the Church, that it is wrong to “offer” for anyone who is not incorporated by baptism into the body of Christ.⁵

This principle could not of course properly touch the Intercessions before the offertory, of which we are now speaking, and which are, I believe, without doubt, the primitive “Great Intercession” of the Liturgy. St. Augustine indeed in another place, in the course of that same Pelagian controversy, which led him to write as he did against “offering” for the

⁵ St. Aug. *de anima et eius origine* i. 10 and 13: ii. 15 and 21; and iii. 18 against a certain Vincentius Victor, who wrote on free-will and the salvability of unbaptized infants. I have to thank Mr. F. E. Brightman, of the Pusey House, for directing my attention to this and some other important points. The other passage in which St. Augustine takes a broader line is in his letter to Vitalis, *ep.* 217 (alias 107) written circa A.D. 427. See Gaume's edition vol. 2, col. 1213.

unbaptized, takes a somewhat different and a broader line. He insists that it is right for the priest at the altar to offer intercessions for those who do not believe and for catechumens, as well as for the perseverance of those who do believe, and he supports himself by the authority of St. Cyprian in his exposition of the Lord's Prayer (*de dom. or.* 17). But it is easier to contract men's sympathies than to expand them, and I believe that the restrictive principle was gradually, though improperly, extended to these earlier intercessions. I think too it is not impossible that our Lord's words after the Last Supper, "I pray for them: I pray not for the world, but for those whom thou hast given me, for they are thine," may have been misused in the same direction (*John* xvii. 9). The other motives we have indicated may be easily traced in their operation or results. They probably were rarely present singly, but co-operated, now in this way and now in that, to narrow the circle of Christian prayers.

1. Of Prayer for the Conversion of Israel.

It will not be possible to do justice to this point without a recollection of the attitude of the Jewish nation and its ecclesiastical rulers towards those who were converted to Christianity. During the last year of Our Lord's Ministry the "Jews," that is, we may suppose, the Jewish Sanhedrim, determined that if any one confessed Him to be the Messiah he should be put out of the synagogue (*John* ix. 22). After the Ascension there was no doubt in many places a hesitation as to how the preaching of the Gospel was to be regarded by the representatives of the law. I may just notice in passing how carefully the writer of the Acts depicts certain varying features of this hesitation, thus showing the early date at which he wrote and his access to original sources of information. But, after a few years, a settled antagonism on the part of the Jews of Palestine, and places under Palestinian influence, became the rule. When St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians it is clear that anyone who then returned to Judaism from Christianity was forced to pronounce a curse on the Lord Jesus, just as in later days Christians were forced

by Roman officials to blaspheme Christ.⁶ The composition of the imprecation on heretics which has been inserted as the twelfth of the *Eighteen* (or, with it, nineteen) *Benedictions* of the Jewish Synagogue service, must certainly be placed in the course of the first century. Older writers assign it to the time of Gamaliel the Elder, the master of St. Paul, while modern ones are inclined to date it in that of his grandson, and after the destruction of the Temple. It was also certainly directed against those Jewish Christians who were considered apostates and traitors by their brethren,⁷ and intended to stop the flow of converts from the Synagogue to the Church. Credible witnesses of the second and following centuries inform us of the daily imprecations which in their days were pronounced on Jewish converts to Christianity, or, as some of them understood it, on the Christian Church as a body.⁸ The same prayer in a modified form is used at the present day in England and probably in all countries where the Jews exercise any amount of freedom. It is to be remarked that it was not only directed against

⁶ Cp. 1 *Cor.* xii. 3 R.V. "I give you to understand that no man speaking in the Spirit of God saith *Jesus is anathema*; and no man can say *Jesus is Lord* [the earliest baptismal creed] but in the Holy Spirit." The original of the anathema was no doubt *Deut.* xxi. 23 *kî-qill'ath elohim tâlûy* ὅτι κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου, cp. *Gal.* iii. 13, and Buxtorf *Lexicon* s.r. *tâlah* s.v. *tâlûy* ('hanged'), for instances of the application of this word to Our Saviour. The Hebrew *q'âlâlâh* is apparently considered as here equal to 'cherem' ἀρθρεμα, and so *Zech.* viii. 13 "as ye were a curse among the heathen." For the curses on Christ exacted by heathen magistrates see Plin. *Ep. ad Traian.* 96, 5 and 6, and *Martyr. Polycarpi* 9.

⁷ See Appendix II. on the Jewish Prayer against heretics or Birkhath ham-minim. I have to thank the Rev. Henry C. Reichardt, curate of Winterborne St. Martin, Dorset, and formerly a missionary at Tunis and Damascus, for much kind help in investigating this subject.

⁸ St. Justin constantly makes this statement in his Dialogue with Trypho chaps. 16, 47, 93, 96, 108, 117, and 137. In ch. 96 he explains *Deut.* xxi. 23 as a prophecy not of God's wrath against our Lord, but of the Jewish curses. From ch. 137 they appear to have been uttered specially after prayers. St. Jerome seems to think that the curse was specially against those who were still half Jews and half Christians. Writing to St. Augustine (*ep.* 112) he says "Up to the present day through all the Synagogues of the East there is a heresy among the Jews called that of the Minæi [*i.e.* Minim] which is everywhere anathematized (damna-tur) by the Pharisees. They are commonly called Nazaræans and believe in Christ the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary, and say

so-called "heretics," but also against the Kingdom of Pride, that is to say the Roman Empire. I cite it in a form kindly communicated to me by one of our own clergy (Mr. Reichardt) from an ancient manuscript in his possession. It runs as follows:—

"May there be no hope to the apostates (m^eshûmâdim),
 "even the heretics (minim), the double-tongued (malshinin),
 "the infidels, the traitors; may they all perish together in a
 "moment; and may the enemies of thy people Israel be
 "speedily annihilated; and may the Kingdom of Pride
 "(malkûth zâdôn) be speedily destroyed and broken into
 "pieces. And mayest thou humble them speedily in our
 "days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who breakest into frag-
 "ments all enemies and humblest the proud ones."

Such being the bad example set in the Synagogue—the extent of which I have no wish to exaggerate—it is scarcely wonderful that the example and precept of Our Lord and His Apostles was very incompletely followed. Justin indeed, who frequently mentions the Jewish imprecations, tells us that Christians pray for their enemies and those who hate them (1 *Ap.* 14) and amongst others for Jews (*Dial.* 35 and 133), but he gives no hint that this was done, in any detail at least, in the Liturgy.

It is indeed a matter of some difficulty to prove that prayers for the ancient people of God ever formed part of the ordinary service of other days than Good Friday, and for Wednesday in Holy Week. It is however I think probable that M. Duchesne's ingenious conjecture is right, and that the series of collects now said only on Good Friday, after the *Oremus* which precedes the singing of the offertory, were once said much more frequently. At present this *Oremus* is left as it were hanging in the air and is followed by no collect, either in the Roman or the Sarum Missal, except on this

"that He is the same that suffered under Pontius Pilate and rose again, "in whom we also believe: but while they wish to be both Jews and "Christians they are neither Jews nor Christians." Elsewhere St. Jerome speaks of Christians being cursed three times a day in the Synagogue under the name of Nazarenes in *Isaiam* v. 18, 19; xlix. 7; lii. 4: ed. Vall. iv. pp. 81, 565, 604, cp. *Epiph. haer.* xxix. 9.

particular day. We know, from the so-called Gregorian Sacramentary, that the Good Friday collects were also said on the previous Wednesday in the 8th century, and we have evidence of about the year 431 A.D. that at that date intercessions covering much the same subjects, though apparently in different order, were then part of the Liturgy, and it would seem a regular and constant part. The passage in which this evidence occurs is part of a catena of authorities appended to a letter of Pope Celestine I. addressed to the Bishops of Gaul. It is not referred to by M. Duchesne, but certainly supports his conjecture up to a certain point, and it is in itself interesting both in its expressions, and as shewing that at one time at least the Church tried to do her duty in respect to the fulness of her intercessions. After citing the opinions of Popes Innocent and Zosimus to prove that the beginning of a good will was due to divine grace, this writer goes on "let us also consider the "sacraments of priestly intercessions, which being delivered "to us by the Apostles, are uniformly celebrated in the "whole world and in the whole Catholic Church, so that the "law of praying may define the law of believing (*ut legem "credendi lex statuatur supplicandi*). For when the prelates of "our holy congregations discharge the embassy committed to "them, they plead the cause of the human race with the "divine clemency, and, while the whole Church groans "together with them, they demand and pray that faith may "be given to infidels, that idolaters may be liberated from "the errors of their impiety, that the light of truth may be "manifest to the Jews the veil being taken from their heart, "that heretics may grow wise again by receiving the catholic "faith, that schismatics may receive the spirit of reviving "charity, that the remedies of penitence may be conferred on "the lapsed, and lastly that catechumens may be brought to "the sacraments of regeneration and the palace of heavenly "mercy be unclosed to them."⁹

⁹ This passage is found in the catena of authorities subjoined to the letter (*ep. 21*) written by Pope Celestine I. A.D. 431 to Venerius, Marinus and other Bishops of Gaul. It may be found in Migne *Pat.*

But excellent as the example of the Church at one time may have been, she has long ceased to think seriously or frequently of this duty in her public offices. It would not indeed be even true to say that there are no official prayers *against* the Jews ever uttered by Christian lips. It is painful to think that in one of the Antiphons for Good Friday, used perhaps everywhere to this day in the orthodox Eastern Church, the good things wrought by Christ to the Hebrew race are first recalled and then He is three times besought, "render unto them, O Lord, according to their works."¹⁰

In the Western Church, including our own, prayers for the Jews are, I believe, now only found in the Liturgy on one day in the year, that is, of course, on Good Friday. In the Roman Liturgy the Collect is headed, you will remember, by the very grudging and unloving introduction, *Oremus et pro perfidis Judæis*, and in itself expresses a kind of astonishment that God should show them any mercy:—"Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui etiam judaicam perfidiam "a tua misericordia non repellis," &c. The "improperia" which follow, that is the series of reproofs or remonstrances with Israel, beginning, "Popule meus quid feci tibi?" are much more of a Christian character, and might be effective,

Lat. 50 col. 535, Labb. *Conc.* ii. 1616 foll. and Constant. *Epist.* 1193; cf. Jaffé *Regesta* p. 32. Binius (ap. Labb. col. 1613) ascribes the catena to Prosper of Aquitaine. It is printed in his works *P.L.* 51 col. 205 foll., but the editor thinks it was more probably drawn up at Celestine's request by St. Leo (afterwards Pope) for Prosper's use. It was inserted by Dionysius Exiguus (circa A.D. 550) in his collection of Canons and was not unnaturally quoted as Celestine's. See for instance Petrus Diaconus *P.L.* 62 c. 91 and 65 c. 450 (whatever may be the date of the book *de Incarnatione et gratia*) who cites this passage as if by Celestine. It is also used by Rabanus Maurus *de Instit. Cler.* ii. 37 (as if it were his own composition) to describe the Good Friday service. Hence we learn that in the 9th century such a series of collects was apparently confined to that day. So it is also in the 7th cent. 'Gelasian' *Sacramentary* i. 41. For Duchesne's conjecture see his *Origines du culte Chrétien* pp. 164 foll. Paris 1889.

¹⁰ *Antiphon* xi. G. V. Shaun; *Euchology* p. 306 Kidderminster 1891, "For the good things thou hast wrought, O Christ unto the Hebrew race, they have condemned thee to crucifixion and given thee vinegar "and gall to drink. But render unto them, O Lord, according to their "works; for they understood not thy condescension," &c. Cp. the Maronite *Song of the B.V.M. at the Cross*, in *De cruce Vat. Comment.* pp. 34—37 Rome 1779.

where they were understood, in touching some Jewish hearts. But I do not feel sure that our own Communion does not stand alone in Christendom in having a prayer for the Jews without any reproach or sting in it. Yet even that is not all that could be wished, and it is only ordered on one day in the year.

We shall never see the Church what God designed her to be until Israel is converted, and the surest way to secure the conversion of Israel would be to introduce a petition for it in the Liturgy, to be said every Sunday—a petition, it may be, recognizing our own shortcomings towards the ancient people of God, and certainly not reproaching them for the sins of their forefathers. If I were Bishop of a Colonial or Missionary Church I would use all my influence to introduce such a collect into the Liturgy, but I can do something towards it, and that is to ask my brethren of the clergy and laity to use such a prayer silently in the Church, whilst the alms are being collected, and at family prayers in their households every Sunday.¹¹

Next I think we might reasonably approach the Jews and ask them to discontinue using the Birkhath ham-minim, even in its present modified form. It cannot be of any advantage to them, and it is not unfairly used by their enemies as a pretext for suspicion, both religious and civil, against them. I have heard, for instance, that it is forbidden to them to use it in the Russian Empire. They know that they have the sympathy of the majority of Englishmen, and are regarded by us as loyal fellow-subjects. Ought they not at our request to restore their *Eighteen Benedictions* to their proper number and genuine character, and to omit this intrusive Imprecation

¹¹ I venture to recommend the following prayer, which is printed in our *Salisbury Diocesan Guild Manual*.

For the Conversion of Israel.

O Ever-living God, Whose mercies fail not, look down with pity on Thine ancient people Israel, and take the veil from their hearts. Open their understandings that they may understand the Scriptures; and pour upon them the spirit of grace and supplications, that they may look on Him Whom they have pierced; so that both Jew and Gentile may be made one in Him, and be brought together to Thy heavenly kingdom; through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

of which we have spoken. We know that they pray for the Queen and Royal Family on stated occasions, but we should feel surer both of their kindness to us and of their loyalty to the civil power if they ceased to use what was once at least coloured by hatred to the Church of Christ and to the Civil Government.

2. Of Prayer for Missions and Missionaries.

Next we have to ask what is the attitude of the Liturgy towards Missions to the heathen and the infidel? Here again, though earlier centuries were more open-minded, those who framed the existing Liturgies very scantily recognised their duty in this respect.

St. Cyprian, as we have already implied, explains the Lord's prayer in the sense of an intercession for unbelievers, especially the petition, *Thy will be done*. He suggests that *in heaven* may mean 'in the disciples of Christ,' and *in earth* 'in those who are as yet unwilling to believe.' "We too (he says) who ought to be like God our Father, who maketh His sun to rise on good and evil, and raineth over just and unjust, so pray and make request according to Christ's bidding as to make a prayer for the salvation of all men, that just as the will of God is done *in heaven*, that is to say in us by our faith through which He has willed that we should be of heaven, so also the will of God may be done *in earth*, that is in those who are unwilling to believe" ('*credere nolentibus*' Hartel), in order that those who are still of earth by their first nativity may by a birth of water and the spirit begin to be of heaven" (*de dom. or.* 17). The premisses are hardly sound, but the practice and conclusion are. Justin's prayer for all men must necessarily have included heathens in its intention, and St. Augustine witnesses that the prayers said by the priest at the altar included intercessions for unbelievers and catechumens as well as believers. But when we look into the Liturgical texts that have come down to us we find generally little more than a petition "for the peace of the whole world," evidently with a view to the comfort and advantage of the Church, much more than to

that of those outside. Prayers for Kings and Rulers, where they were used, no doubt in the first ages had a kind of missionary tendency, but when the Empire became Christian, they lost it and were not replaced by others.

The Clementine Liturgy—which was apparently never used—has a prayer very like those in our Litany for enemies and persecutors, for those who are without and those who have gone astray (Hammond, p. 19); but perhaps there is no more beautiful Missionary prayer in any existing Liturgy than that which comes no doubt originally from the Church of Alexandria. It is preserved at present only in the Coptic and Ethiopic, and is said after the reading of the Catholic Epistle and before that of the Acts. It may remind us that the witness of little known and perhaps despised Churches may sometimes recall happier parts of Christendom to duties which in their careless ease they have left unfulfilled. Yet even this is not so direct an appeal to the Lord of the harvest, nor so full a recognition of the wants of the heathen as could be wished. It may be translated as follows from the Coptic Liturgy:—"O Lord God who by thy holy Apostles hast
" manifested to us the mystery of the glorious Gospel of thy
" Christ, and according to the greatness of thine infinite gift
" of grace hast given to them to preach the fulness of thine
" unsearchable mercy to the whole world; we beseech thee
" O Lord to make us worthy of a part and lot with them.
" Grant that we may continually walk in their footsteps, that
" we may imitate their contests, and take part with them in
" the labours and toils which they underwent for the sake of
" religion. Preserve thy holy Church, which thou hast
" founded by their means, bless the lambs of thy flock and
" increase this vine which thy right hand hath planted in
" Christ Jesus our Lord; through whom &c." (Hammond p. 198 foll. cp. p. 249).

We have already spoken of the larger use of the Good Friday intercessions in ancient times, which must have been Gallican as well as Roman, otherwise the argument from them would have been of no avail as addressed to Gallican Bishops. In our own Church we have the prayer for "all

“sorts and conditions of men” in our daily matins and even-song, for which we must be thankful. But we have nothing in the Communion Office, and what we have is not such a moving of the Lord of the harvest as our Saviour certainly designed us to use. This neglect of a plain duty has led to two great misfortunes of which we are constantly feeling the ill effects.

In the first place it has made it possible for many men, even among those who wish to be considered true sons of the Church, to go out into the world and to take part, it may be, in the government of a great heathen province or empire, without any idea that active sympathy with missions is an obvious and indispensable part of a Churchman’s duty. Even many of our clergy and parishes, as the diocesan statistics show, have not yet realised this elementary fact; but the failure to understand it is probably less in England than in any other Christian country.

In the second place, and as a natural result of the former, Mission work has been left to be guided too much by chance enthusiasm or undisciplined piety, or by voluntary societies, claiming certain fields of labour as their own. I am not speaking of our own Church only by any means, but of the general results in Christendom. All know or have heard something of the struggles and rivalries of Dominicans and Jesuits. Similar rivalries, sectarian or partisan, affect a great portion of modern mission work, and trouble the relations of Western missionaries, English, American, or Latin, with the orthodox Eastern Church and other Oriental communions, such as the Armenians and Assyrians. It is not too much to say that if a petition for foreign missions and for the sending forth of missionaries had been a regular part of the Liturgy of all Christian Churches, there would have been in the first place greater peace and unity among them, a diversion of energy away from internal party strife and internecine hostilities between Church and Church, into proper lines and channels. Secondly, there would have been greater wisdom and boldness, greater force and efficiency, and by God’s grace greater and more evident success in our efforts to evangelize the world.

I would say of this as I said about the former prayer for the Jews, that pending an open restoration of it to the public service such a prayer should be said silently in Church, and openly at family prayers, by all who have the welfare of Christendom at heart.¹²

3. *Of Prayer for Kings and Civil Rulers and Magistrates.*

The other difficult element of the "prayer of the faithful," namely that for the Emperors and for civil rulers, has been much more readily and generally adopted into the Christian Liturgy. Yet even this was by no means universal. It would not be fair to insist upon the short precepts and forms of the *Teaching of the Apostles* as being exhaustive, but I confess that they leave the impression that the Liturgy represented in that remarkable little book, while it avoided the Jewish imprecations, did not contain fixed intercessions except for

¹² The following prayer by Bishop Cotton—originally worded "all Thy people of India"—is very suitable:—

For the Conversion of the Heathen.

O GOD, who hast made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and didst send Thy blessed Son to preach to them that are far off, and to them that are nigh; grant that all Thy people who sit in darkness and the shadow of death may seek after Thee and find Thee; and hasten, O Lord, the fulfilment of Thy promise to pour out Thy Spirit upon all flesh; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

To which may be added the following by Bp. Chr. Wordsworth:—

For Missions and for Grace to help them.

O LORD Jesu Christ, Saviour of Mankind, who hast commanded Thy disciples to go into all the world and to preach the Gospel to every creature, and who hast declared that this Gospel of the Kingdom shall first be preached to all nations, and that then the end shall come; we humbly beseech Thee to raise up men full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and send them forth to do the work of evangelists by spreading abroad the glad tidings of salvation; and so to fill us with Thy love, and to quicken us with Thy grace, that we may labour joyfully with them by prayers and offerings for their work, so that finally at Thy Second Coming to judge the world, we together with them, and with those who have received the Gospel at their hands, may rejoice in Thy presence with exceeding joy, and may praise Thee for evermore, our holy and most merciful Redeemer, our most worthy Judge Eternal, our most mighty Lord and God, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory now and for evermore. *Amen.*

There is a good prayer in Abp. Hermann's *Consultation* (p. 352 ed. 1548) before the Creed.

the Church. This is the text of the prayer which answers to Justin's "common prayers," and which evidently was the next step in the service after the conclusion of the Agapé (ch. x). It may have been based on the Jewish grace after meat, to which it has some close analogies both in its position and its contents.¹³

"And after being filled thus give ye thanks:—

"We thank thee, holy Father, for thy holy name which thou hast made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which thou hast made known to us by thy child Jesus. Thine be the glory for ever. Thou, O Almighty Sovereign, didst create all things for thy name's sake, and gavest men food and drink to enjoy; that they might give thanks unto thee; but to us thou didst graciously give spiritual food and drink and life eternal through thy child. Before all things we give thanks to thee for that thou art mighty. Thine is the glory for ever. Remember, O Lord, thy Church to deliver her from all evil and to perfect her in thy love; and gather her together from the four winds, her that is sanctified unto thy kingdom which thou didst prepare for her. For thine is the power and the glory for ever. Let grace come, and this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any is holy let him come; if any is not let him repent. Maranatha [*i.e.*, The Lord cometh or hath come]. Amen.

"But suffer the prophets to give thanks as pleaseth them "*(ὅσα θέλουσιν)*."¹⁴

¹³ See Buxtorf's *Synagoga Judaica*, pp. 263 foll., for this grace. It (1) is said "after being filled;" (2) it contains thanksgivings for God's special favours to His people; (3) it contains prayers for the Restoration of the City and Kingdom of David, the Temple, &c., and the gathering of the people out of captivity. The Jewish form is however unfortunately hostile in its spirit towards Christians, though it does not contain imprecations.

¹⁴ In the *Hosanna to the God of David* and the words that follow we seem to have the germ of the *Benedictus qui venit* and the *Sancta sanctis* shortly indicated. The *God of David* instead of *Son of David* was probably a protest against Ebionism: see Barnabas, ch. 12, 10 and 11, and Harnack's notes. Dr. C. Taylor has an interesting note on the *Maranatha Amen*, in which he sees a kind of *memoria technica* of an ancient hymn. See his *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles with illustra-*

The *Teaching of the Apostles* is closely connected with the Church of Palestine and would be unconsciously influenced by Jewish feeling in this matter, even while it was guarded from distinct lapses into Ebionism or distinct hostility to the secular powers. The Epistle to the Hebrews implies that the Church of Jerusalem had a hard struggle to free itself from old associations and from the natural instincts of patriotism. It may I think also be taken for granted that the Liturgy known to Justin, who was a native of Nablûs in Samaria, was similarly defective in this point. For if these prayers had referred to the Emperor he could hardly have failed to press this point in proof of the loyalty of Christians, as Tertullian twice does on similar occasions.¹⁵

Now Justin Martyr was not only a native of Palestine, but he preached and suffered martyrdom at Rome. It is natural to connect this defect in the Liturgy which he describes with the other most striking instances of the absence of prayers for civil rulers, the Roman and the Mozarabic. If we accept M. Duchesne's conjecture in its entirety, the prayer for the Emperor and the Empire said on Good Friday was also used daily in the fifth century, though not after the eighth century. Yet it is to be noticed that the catena attached to Pope Celestine's letter makes no mention of such prayers for the Emperor, while it touches all the later elements of the Good Friday collects, though in different order. Be that as it may, it is a great blot upon the Roman Liturgy from the ninth century onwards that, except on Good Friday and in a Litany said on Easter Eve, it makes no mention of any official persons

tions from the Talmud, Camb. 1886, pp. 77—79. This hymn, beginning *En kêlohênû*, "There is none like our God," may be found in *De Sola Festival Prayers*, vol. vi., *Tabernacles*, p. 184. The *ἡσα θέλουσιν* is like Justin's *ἡσὴ δύναμις αὐτῷ* of the President's prayers, ch. 67, and implies the absence of a fixed form of consecration on the part of the Minister.

¹⁵ See Tertullian *Apol.* 30 foll. and *ad Scap.* 2. Justin's reference to prayers for Jews and enemies generally (see above p. 67) is indirect evidence for the same conclusion. Prayers for kings, &c., are mentioned by St. Cyril *Cat. Myst.* v. 8, after the consecration. They form part of most existing Oriental Liturgies, St. James (MSS. and recently-edited text), St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, the Clementine, the Coptic, Ethiopic, Syrian and others. The position of the prayers varies.

as deserving the prayers of the faithful, except the Pope and the Bishop of the Diocese.¹⁶

Whatever may be the case with the Liturgy of the Church of Palestine and that described by Justin, and whatever may be the explanation of the long and unfortunate silence of the church of Rome, it is certain that some members of that church in primitive times, carried out St. Paul's instructions in a most edifying manner, by praying for civil rulers even when persecutors. There is perhaps no more beautiful part of the Epistle of St. Clement, third Bishop of Rome, written in the name of the Roman Church, than the intercessory prayers towards its close. When we remember that he was writing under Domitian, the persecutor of the noble family to which he was in all probability attached, and in evident fear of further dangers, we shall be the more inclined to honour their

¹⁶ The series of Good Friday collects is as follows:—1, The Church; 2, The Pope; 3, Bishops and other clergy, &c.; 4, The Emperor and Empire; 5, Catechumens; 6, Those in tribulation; 7, Heretics and schismatics; 8, Jews; 9, Heathen. Those in the Appendix to Celestine are almost in inverse order:—1, Infidels and idolaters; 2, Jews; 3, Heretics and schismatics; 4, Lapsed persons; 5, Catechumens. But the prayer for lapsed persons must have been very different from that for those in tribulation, and the description of the prayers for the Jews and others has little verbal agreement except in the use of the word "resipiscant" of heretics. On the whole I incline to think that the Celestine series represents a Gallican usage, in which prayers for the Church and Empire were separated from the rest. In France, the King (or Emperor) was named in the first prayer of the Canon, the 'Te igitur,' after the Pope, or after the Pope and Bishop, from very early times up to 1870 (cp. S. Greg. *Op.* iii. p. 3, Paris 1703). Similarly Pope Innocent III., commenting on the words "una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro" "et omnibus orthodoxis," approves of praying for the local pontiff (outside the 'Romana diocesis') and the prince, though it was clearly not the custom in Rome itself (*de sacro alt. myst.* iii. 5, *P.L.* 217 c. 844). It was the custom in Spain to do so; and a concession was made by Pius Vth, the reformer of the Missal, dated 17th Dec. 1570, for this mention of the King "prout hactenus in dictis partibus servari solitum est," and for the substitution of his name for that of the Roman Emperor in the Good Friday collect and Easter Eve Litany. This mention was extended to the Austrian Empire by Pope Clement XIII., and was even in use in this country in the last century, as the Latin-English Missals prove. Now in England the collect from the Mass 'Pro Rege' is said after Mass. In Venice the Doge was mentioned. Otherwise it is held to be a mortal sin, to name any other person, King or Prince, or general of any order, &c., without Papal indulgence; see Romsée *Op. Lit.* iv. p. 183 cp. Thalhofer ii. p. 203. On the 'Laudes' see Scudamore *N.E.* p. 229, Martene I. iv. 3 § 13, *P.L.* 138 col. 902.

writer. You will I am sure be glad to listen to them for their own sake and as the words of one who was writing, it may be, before the publication of the Gospel according to St. John.

Thou through Thine operations didst make manifest the everlasting fabric of the world. Thou, Lord, didst create the earth. Thou that art faithful throughout all generations, righteous in Thy judgments, marvellous in strength and excellence, Thou that art wise in creating and prudent in establishing that which Thou hast made, that art good in the things which are seen and faithful with them that trust on Thee, *pitiful and compassionate*, forgive us our iniquities and our unrighteousnesses and our transgressions and shortcomings. Lay not to our account every sin of Thy servants and Thine handmaids, but cleanse us with the cleansing of Thy truth, and *guide our steps to walk in holiness and righteousness and singleness of heart, and to do such things as are good and well-pleasing in Thy sight* and in the sight of our rulers. Yea, Lord, *make Thy face to shine upon us in peace for our good*, that we may be sheltered *by Thy mighty hand* and delivered from every sin *by Thine uplifted arm*. And deliver us from them that hate us wrongfully. Give concord and peace to us and to all that dwell on the earth, as Thou gavest to our fathers, *when they called on Thee in faith and truth* with holiness, [that we may be saved,] while we render obedience to Thine almighty and most excellent Name, and to our rulers and governors upon the earth.

Thou, Lord and Master, hast given them the power of sovereignty through Thine excellent and unspeakable might, that we knowing the glory and honour which Thou hast given them may submit ourselves unto them, in nothing resisting Thy will. Grant unto them therefore, O Lord, health, peace, concord, stability, that they may administer the government which Thou hast given them without failure. For Thou, O heavenly Master, King of the ages, givest to the sons of men glory and honour and power over all things that are upon the earth. Do Thou, Lord, direct their counsel according to that which is good and well-pleasing in Thy sight, that, administering in peace and gentleness with godliness the power which Thou hast given them, they may obtain Thy favour. O Thou, who alone art able to do these things, and things far more exceeding good than these for us, we praise Thee through the High-priest and Guardian of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be the glory and the majesty unto Thee both now and for all generations and for ever and ever. Amen. (S. Clem. *Cor.* 60, 61, tr. by Bp. Lightfoot.)

There is something at once dignified and touching in these words. They recognise that persecution does not of itself make saints; that those who are persecuted (even by a Domitian) may have sins to be forgiven; that it is at any rate their duty not to court persecution, but to do, as far as God's law permits, what is well-pleasing in the sight of their rulers. They recognise the dignity of Government as part of God's order, and the duty of obedience to it as to Him. The

prayers which follow for the guidance of rulers, that their work may be blessed by God and themselves obtain his favour, are very models of what such a prayer should be in a Christian Liturgy, say in China or Japan, where the Government was still unchristian.

Had the Church of Rome been blessed with many such Bishops as Clement, how different would have been the state of the world and the Church. Instead of proclaiming that unhappy separation, or rather gulf, between Church and State, which makes the future of Italy so dark, and which seems to prevent good citizens and patriots from being good sons of the Church, the foremost see of Christendom might have set the example of loyalty to the throne and unworldliness in its own office; and instead of clinging to the shadow of temporal power, of which God in His mercy has taken away the substance, it might have set an example of detachment which would have elevated the life of all Bishops and Pastors, even of different Communions.

As I have said in a previous address, the substance of the Liturgy touches the springs of human conduct far more deeply than we should at first have supposed possible, and any rash mutilation of it has a disastrous effect, far greater than could have been apprehended by those who made it. The omission of the prayer for the Sovereign is not indeed an attack upon so vital a part of the Liturgy as the denial of the cup to all but the celebrant, but it comes very near it. It is a denial to Cæsar of the things that by God's ordinance are Cæsar's; an unfair and independent attitude on the part of the priesthood, with what disastrous consequences we know, not only in Italy, but elsewhere.

4. Of "*Common Prayers*" in a *fixed form*.

Another important observation may be made under this head. It seems fairly certain, from the distinction drawn by Justin between these "common prayers" said by the people, and the thanksgivings proper said by the President "with all his power," to which the people answered *Amen*, that the first prayers were in a measure at least fixed and

formal, while the second were less so. It would have been impossible for the people to join, as much as the expressions used imply that they did join, unless they had known beforehand what they were going to say. The description given of Christian society in the Acts (ii. 42), "They were continuing" "steadfastly in the doctrine of the Apostles and their fellowship and in the breaking of bread and in the prayers" implies probably some stated common form of prayer or liturgy.¹⁷ We may conjecture that this would take very naturally the shape of some kind of Litany, with responses.

It is strange that there should have been a controversy on this point so bitter as it was at one time; but while we see that the early Church used fixed prayers it was to a great extent, we may suppose, for purposes of convenience and certainly without attaching undue importance to their form. They were never imposed as of necessity, they were clearly transposed and transformed according to the needs of each Church, no stress was laid on their words and syllables, and so a great deal of liberty was left under the uniformity which existed. I am not here arguing that it is possible or desirable that such liberty should be re-introduced within the bounds of our own communion so as to give permission to every congregation to make its own Liturgy. That would lead to terrible confusion and distress, and would be in religion something like the restoration of the Heptarchy in politics. But I wish to make two things clear. First to those, if there be any, who still think prayers out of a book unreal. We must say that as early as we can go back into the past such fixed prayers, probably committed to memory rather than to writing, and following precedents in the Jewish Synagogue service, were said in the Church at the Communion Office. Secondly I wish to point out to those others, who stickle for identity and uniformity in every particular, to whatever school or party they may belong, that such exact uniformity is alien at any rate from the spirit of the early Church, and that it is almost an impossibility when people are really thinking and

¹⁷ Bishop Wordsworth on *Acts* ii. 42, and see the quotation from Bishop Pearson there given.

carrying for what they do. In the Church of Rome it is comparatively of modern growth, and is still incomplete, wherever local customs survive, and, as far as it exists, it is connected with the use of the service in a dead language, and with a theory of the service which differs not a little from our own. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the Oriental Churches to be clear as to their practice. In the Anglican Communion there are certain differences in the Scotch and American offices which are well known or can easily be ascertained by any who like to inquire—and these certainly make no difference to the unity of feeling and perfectness of communion that exists among us. We are therefore right in clinging to our own Liturgy as a priceless symbol of unity within the Church of England, but we must not turn unity into absolute bondage. Those who have read the Judgment of the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury in a recent case will know the sort of liberty which I am advocating and the principles on which my advocacy of it rests in regard to certain matters of ritual. But the principle is capable of rather wider extension especially when we consider the needs of our colonial and daughter Churches.

I have said just now that the "common prayers" said by the people very probably soon took some form like that of a Litany. The oldest form of such a Litany seems to be that which is called the lesser Litany, "Lord have mercy upon us," "Christ have mercy upon us," "Lord have mercy upon us," which is an address to the Blessed Trinity. It is probable that the short sentences at the end of the prayer in the *Teaching of the Apostles* are a kind of memoria technica or headings of such a responsive service. Dr. Taylor, in his most interesting and useful Lectures, illustrating this little book from the Talmud, shows that the words "Amen: come" are the title of a primitive Jewish hymn, "Eyn kēlohēnu," "There is none like our God." The "Maranatha Amen," and the ἀμήν ἔρχου or "Amen: come" at the end of the Apocalypse, may be similar titles. The hymn just quoted might be without difficulty adopted by a Christian congregation.¹⁸

¹⁸ See above p. 76 note 14.

II. THE SALUTATION WITH THE KISS.

St. Paul in four of his early epistles (1 *Thess.* v. 26, 1 *Cor.* xvi. 20, 2 *Cor.* xiii. 12, *Rom.* xvi. 16) bids those to whom he is writing greet one another with a "holy kiss," and St. Peter (1 *Pet.* v. 14) writes of a similar greeting with a "kiss of charity." There could be no more evident token of the incorporation of all Christians in a common family.¹⁹ Among the Jews, in whom the sense of unity of race has always been strong, the kiss was a salutation between host and guest, friend and friend, as well as between near relations (*Luke* vii. 45, *Matt.* xxvi. 48 foll. and parallels). When St. Paul parted so pathetically from the brethren at Miletus they all fell on his neck and kissed him (*Acts* xx. 37). Such kisses, we may suppose, were also frequently a sign of reconciliation, as our own proverb witnesses, "kiss and be friends;" and would be the beginning of a new relationship of kindness and charity towards all men.

We have spoken of the position of the kiss as possibly being at the commencement of the more religious part of the assembly in quite early times. It would in fact come in almost at any moment when Christian affection had been specially stirred. The mention of it at the *end* of five epistles is not without significance. The writer may well be supposed to imagine himself present in spirit with the assembly while his letter is read, and as a sort of seal to his exhortations he bids this salutation be given, just as in our familiar letters we send our "love" at the conclusion. But in the early Liturgies it was even more naturally a prelude to the more solemn part of the Liturgy, after the dismissal of the catechumens and the prayer for all men, but before the offertory. In one of the most ancient Liturgies, that named after St. Mark, occurs the prayer "Send down on us the gift of thine

¹⁹ The "ius osculi" in the Roman Empire was a term of well-known signification, implying all within a certain limit of kindred or affinity: see the passages from Polybius ap. Athen. 10 p. 440 f. and Plutarch *Quaest. Rom.* 6 cited by A. Rossbach *Die Römische Ehe* p. 438. Stuttgart, 1853,

“all-holy Spirit, that in a pure heart and good conscience we
“may salute one another with a holy kiss.”²⁰

The Coptic Liturgy has also a very beautiful prayer at this point, which begins by referring to God’s original creation of man and to the peace proclaimed by angels at the Nativity, and concludes thus:—“Of thy goodness, O Lord, fill our
“hearts with thy peace, and cleanse us from every stain and
“all contention, all fraud, all malice, all deadly recollection
“of injuries. Grant, Lord, that we may be all worthy to
“embrace one another with a holy kiss, and so to take part
“in it, that at the Judgment thou mayest not repel us from
“thy immortal and heavenly gift, through Jesus Christ our
“Lord.”²¹

Its connection with the offertory that followed may have been suggested by our Lord’s words about reconciliation before offering, which as we have seen were very early interpreted as referring to the Eucharistic oblation, and which are quoted by St. Cyril in explaining the meaning of the kiss to catechumens.

“Think not (he says) that this kiss ranks with those given
“in public by common friends. It is not such; this kiss
“blends souls one with another, and solicits for them entire
“forgiveness. Therefore this kiss is the sign that our souls
“are mingled together, and have banished all remembrance
“of wrongs. For this cause Christ said ‘If thou bring thy
“‘gift to the altar and there rememberest that thy brother
“‘hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift upon the
“‘altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother,
“‘and then come and offer thy gift.’” (*Cat. Myst.* v. 3).

The permanent lesson of the kiss for us then is to make a serious effort not only passively to forgive what others have done to us, but to do the even more difficult duty of confessing ourselves when we are in the wrong, and the still more delicate and trying work of making up a quarrel when

²⁰ In the middle of a longer prayer on the same subject; see C. E. Hammond *Liturgies* p. 178 and cp. Scudamore *N. E.* p. 497.

²¹ Hammond l. c. p. 205; cp. H. M. Luckock *The Divine Liturgy* p. 213.

we think we are in the right. All three steps in Christian holiness are necessary steps; and nothing can be more grievous or offensive to God than the sort of perverse upside down way in which these words and other similar warnings are sometimes taken. People twist the prohibition to offer to God, unless they are reconciled, into a license to remain at variance provided they neglect public worship and holy communion. They have even been known to burden their souls with a rash vow not to come to Church as long as one with whom they have quarrelled does so. More often they allow images of bitterness and enmity and petty details of irritating letters or unguarded words so to occupy their souls that they get no good by their worship. Should any of you know of such cases, dear brethren, it is your duty to explain that such vows are null and void being in a matter not open to us to bind ourselves about. No one can vow to do what is wrong. To keep such a vow is a sin; to break it is a duty. Herod Antipas' vow to do whatever Salome asked him, was not binding when she asked him to commit a sin. To preserve the life of an innocent person was an absolute duty, especially in a king. He sinned in making a foolish vow; but he sinned much more in keeping it. So to be reconciled to a brother and to attend public worship and to receive Holy Communion are both absolute duties for a Christian. To bind ourselves not to do so is a sin; but to keep such a vow or promise is a greater sin.

III. THE OFFERTORY.

The third point in the primitive Liturgy as described by Justin is the Offertory or offering of the elements. After the kiss, he tells us, "bread and a cup of water and wine is brought to the President of the brethren." Nothing is said here of other alms and oblations, and the way in which the gifts of money for the poor and needy are mentioned later on implies, in my opinion, distinctly that they were not offered in the same way as the bread and cup. This is also the natural inference from the passage of Tertullian's *Apology*

(39) of very similar import describing the "arca" or chest of the Christians. I conclude that this was an actual box, like our poor-box—a feature which would naturally be borrowed from Jewish religious life.²² We read in the Book of Kings (2 K. xii. 9) how the High Priest Jehoiada made such a chest and bored a hole in the lid to receive the offerings of money for the restoration of the Temple; and we know that a number of such chests, shaped like Trumpets, were ranged round the Court of the women in the so-called Treasury of the Second Temple. "There are generally two near the door of the Synagogue (says Dean Plumptre) one for the poor of Jerusalem and one for local charities" (*S.D.B.* iii. p. 1399). If this were a primitive Jewish custom it throws light on St. Paul's anxiety for the collection for the mother Church, as a sign of the love of gentile or half-Jewish communities. As to the mode of collection I imagine that each person put his gift into the chest without any special ceremonies. Later on it would seem that these gifts were received by some officer of the Church, but I can find no distinct trace of money being laid upon the altar in early times or even in the age of Charles the Great and his sons.²³

The offering then of the bread and cup, containing according to the evidence that has come down to us, with but slight exception,²⁴ wine mixed with water, is the primary

²² See *Dict. Chr. Ant.* s.v. *arca* and *Liber Pontificalis* c. 24 for the "arca pecuniae" handed over by Pope Stephen A.D. 260, to his arch-deacon, &c. The treasury-chests or Trumpets in the Temple are described by Dr. Edersheim *The Temple and its Services* p. 26. Cp. *John* viii. 20, *Mark* xii. 41, *Luke* xxi. 1.

²³ See the article *Oblations* xvi. p. 1426 in *Dict. Chr. Ant.* The third of the so-called Apostolic Canons (possibly collected in the second half of the third century) shows that at that date nothing but the bread and cup and certain offerings in kind were contemplated, as placed upon the altar, and of these only "fresh grains of unripe wheat and bunches of grapes at the proper season," and that nothing else was to be brought to the altar besides "oil for the lamp and incense at the time of the holy oblation."

²⁴ Origen stands apparently alone amongst the fathers in saying that our Lord used "unmixed wine," *Hom.* xii. in *Jerem.* § 2 (vol. iii., p. 194). He seems to have gathered this merely from the absence of any description of the mixture in the Gospels. The Armenians use unmixed wine

offering to which all antiquity bears witness as the one commanded by our Lord. Everything else is an accessory, and a non-essential, but with this we see no means of dispensing. We have seen the reasons why our blessed Lord may be supposed to have chosen these elements to represent to us His Body and His Blood. We must not indeed insist too much upon these reasons as if they were matters of revelation; and we must remember the variations of symbolic interpretation of details which have distracted rather than edified the Church. What is quite certain is that these gifts were at first true gifts. It is rather remarkable that the practice of men and women actually bringing up their own offerings of bread and wine to be placed on the holy table and in part to be consecrated, went on in the local Roman Church longer than in most other places. In the Eastern Liturgies and in those derived from the East, such as the Mozarabic in Spain, the preparation of the elements became in early times a matter for the Clergy, often done with considerable ceremony, and followed by an "entrance" or illation, which was often an imposing part of the service. In our old Sarum use there is a distinct trace of this feeling—be it Gallican or be it a tradition brought in by Abp. Theodore—in the preparation of the elements away from the Altar, between the reading of the Epistle and Gospel.²⁵ The mixture of the chalice at the altar in the Roman rite, though it may seem at first sight hard to believe it, is a relic of the old custom of the people's offering. Let me explain how this is.

In quite primitive times of course the Chalice, as Justin tells us, was brought already mixed—no doubt by some of the congregation, as the deacons are mentioned only in

(see Seudamore *N.E.*, p 389), and it does not seem that this was originally connected with their Monophysite heresy; though the notice of this custom does not go beyond the fourth century. But other Churches, perhaps all other, used a mixed cup.

²⁵ See the description in the *Register of St. Osmund* ed. W. H. Rich Jones i. p. 150, &c., The early printed Sarum missals before 1500 A.D. contain no order for mixing the chalice. It is taken for granted as having been done by the Deacon or Sub-Deacon.

another connection. But anything like a special preparation of it does not seem to have been attempted for some time. When, however, theologians began to reflect upon the matter, and to give mystical interpretations of the mixed cup, as St. Cyprian already does (about A.D. 254)²⁶ it became natural to take measures for securing that the mixture should not be omitted by accident. This gradually ripened into a ceremony, and naturally a ceremony performed by the officiating priest or one of the inferior clergy. In the East ceremonies grew more quickly than in the West, and a certain amount we may almost say of superstition concentrated itself upon the preparation of the elements, including the mixture of the chalice.²⁷ On the other hand the Roman Ritual was at once less theological and less symbolical, though not devoid of a good deal of pomp and circumstance, and we may add of common sense. The laity, men and women, still continued in the ninth century to offer bread and wine, and in much larger quantities than was wanted for the consecration. A certain portion was chosen for this purpose by the Deacon or Archdeacon, who, before presenting it, took care to put a little water into the chalice, in order to preserve the symbolism, but apparently without any prayer and with very slight ceremony. I speak of the order of the ninth century in Rome itself, of which minute accounts have come down to us.²⁸ The contrast between this and the "Great

²⁶ In his *ep.* 63, 13, "uidemus in aqua populum intellegi, in uino "uero ostendi sanguinem Christi. quando autem in calice uino aqua "miscetur, Christo populus adunatur, &c.," and then he argues that neither water or wine can be offered alone.

²⁷ See the *Office of the Prothesis*, in Neale and Littledale's *Translations of the Primitive Liturgies*, p. 182, 2nd ed. Lond. 1869. This preparation takes place in the Chapel of the Prothesis, generally on the north side of the Bema or Sanctuary.

²⁸ See Symphosius Amalarius, who propagated a knowledge of Roman ritual in Gaul in the first half of the ninth century, esp. *Eclogae de officio missae—de oblatione*, Migne P.L. 105 p. 1324. He speaks reprovingly of persons "disdaining" to make offerings "as disdainig, though not audibly, to confess that they are not "redeemed by the passion of Christ and that they do not keep that "passion in remembrance"—just as we might speak of those who neglected communion. Probably "offering" had very much taken the

Entrance," or bringing in of the carefully prepared elements, in the Oriental Church, is very striking. That is observed with more outward devotion, that is to say with prostration and adoration, than the actual consecration. The Greeks find this hard to defend. But its best defence is surely that the Ancient Church did not limit the presence of Christ to one moment in the service, but beheld Him throughout ministering to His people. We shall speak of this on another occasion. I may notice here that, though the Roman method of mixing the chalice is historically interesting and practically convenient, the fact that the primitive and Sarum use so far combine points out the line which it is natural for members and ministers of the Church of England to take wherever the mixture of the chalice is used—namely, that it should be mixed before it is brought to the Priest.

IV. THE CONSECRATION OF THE ELEMENTS.

We now come to the most solemn part in the service, the blessing and thanksgiving by the "President" of the brethren, as Justin calls him, which preceded the distribution. This name President was at this time applied both to Bishops and Presbyters, though in and after the fourth century it was generally confined to Bishops.²⁹

Justin's account, though it is very short, implies several place of communion in that age. Below he says, "Solus autem archidiaconus infert aquam in amulam pontificis ut ostendatur corpus Christi unum esse," &c. This was written I believe about 831. Compare his longer and probably earlier book, *de eccl. off.* iii. 19, *ib.* pp. 1129, 1131, made up largely from extracts of other authors, "Omnis populus intrans ecclesiam debet sacrificium Deo offerre . . . Populus offert vinum, cantores aquam. Sicut vinum et aqua unum fiunt in calice, sic populus et cantores in corpore Christi." In the *ordines Romani* (Paris M.S. 974. sac. ix., from St. Amand), printed by Duchesne *Origines* p. 440 foll., the description of the Pontifical Mass is similar. One of the choir (*scola*) brings water to the oblationarius, who gives it to the Archdeacon, who makes a cross with the water as he pours it into the cup held by the subdeacon at the right horn of the altar (p. 444). No prayer it would seem is said.

²⁹ See the article *Bishop* in *Dict. Chr. Ant.* p. 209 and cp. similar names of a general character *προϊστάμενοι* 1 *Thess.* v. 12, *ηγούμενοι* *Heb.* xiii. 7 and 17, &c., and *προηγούμενοι* *Clem. ad Cor.* 21, *Hermas Vis.* ii. 2, iii. 9.

most important facts: (1) that the prayer was said by the President alone; (2) that it was said aloud; (3) that its exact wording was not fixed; (4) that a word of prayer given by the Lord was used as a specially efficacious part of it.

It will be necessary to say something on each of these points in turn, and

1. Of Consecration by the Minister alone.

That the prayer was said by the Minister alone implies a class of persons set apart for the Ministry and having alone the right to officiate in this particular relation of the people to God. This was no new thing. St. Clement of Rome, forty or fifty years before, had given a description of the office of presbyters which is in fact a definition of their rights and duties in this respect. Writing in the name of the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth, which had expelled some of its presbyters, he speaks of them as those "who blamelessly and holily offered the gifts" (ch. 44). This phrase does not stand by itself, but in a remarkable context, in which he points out the orderly nature of God's kingdom and work, both in the world and in the Church, using illustrations both from the Roman Empire and the Jewish Law.

He is careful to insist (as Bishop Lightfoot well puts it) "that these offerings should be made at the right time," no doubt on the Lord's day, "and in the right place and by the right persons." He ascribes the institution and appointment of "Bishops and Deacons" to the Apostles, and records their further care for a permanent succession of ministers after their own deaths. There can be no doubt that he thought the offering of the gifts to be a special privilege of the ministry. I believe that the "gifts" of St. Clement are the oblations of bread and wine, and possibly certain first-fruits, but have nothing to do with "alms" in the technical sense of gifts of money.³⁰ Those whose privilege it was to receive

³⁰ Bishop Lightfoot's note, continuing what is quoted above, is perhaps slightly misleading. "The first day of the week had been fixed by Apostolic authority not only for breaking of bread (*Acts xx. 7*) but also for collecting alms (1 *Cor. xvi. 2*); and the presbyters, as the

and solemnly present the oblations were also of course the persons who said the prayers over them and blessed them. We have other evidence of this date, the end of the first century, that it was so. Thus the so-called *Teaching of the Apostles* after giving the order to assemble on each Lord's Day and break bread and give thanks goes on, "Elect therefore unto yourselves Bishops and Deacons worthy of the Lord; men meek and not loving money and truthful and approved; for unto you do they minister the ministry of the prophets and teachers" (ch. 15). The connection is obvious between the "pure sacrifice" and the ministry that offered it. St. Ignatius writing to the Smyrneans (about 110 A.D.) says, "Let that be a valid ($\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda\alpha$) Eucharist which is under the Bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Wheresoever the Bishop shall appear there let the people be; even as where Jesus may be there is the Universal Church. It is not lawful apart from the Bishop either to baptize or to hold a love-feast. But whatsoever he shall approve that is well-pleasing also to God that everything which ye do may be sure and valid" (*Smyrn.* 8, see above note 3). I need not quote later writers for what is so much a commonplace. Tertullian says (you will remember) "The Sacrament of the Eucharist which was instituted by our Lord at meal-time and committed to all, we receive in assemblies before day-break and from the hands of no other persons except our Presidents" (*de corona* 3). The only passage of apparently different import, in any early writer, is from the same author, after he became a Montanist and in many ways took up an antagonistic and critical attitude against the Church and her ministers, who seemed to him not to be sufficiently spiritual. In this well-known passage where he is exalting the priesthood of the laity, in

"officers appointed by the same authority, were the proper persons to receive and dispense the contributions." But St. Paul in that passage does not order the alms to be "collected," but to be "laid up in store" apparently in each man's own house, and I can find no evidence that alms were placed on the holy table in early times. In our own Prayer Book this was only introduced at the last revision (1662) from the Scotch Liturgy. I do not know where Abp. Laud found his precedent. Cp. p. 85.

order to enforce a strict discipline upon them, especially as to second marriages, he says "The authority of the Church
 "and honour consecrated by sitting in order of rank has
 "established the difference between clergy and laity. And
 "so where there is no order of ecclesiastical precedence and
 "no bench of clergy thou both offerest and baptizest and art
 "a priest to thyself alone. But where three are together
 "there is the Church: though they be laymen" (*de exhort. cast.* 7).³¹ Even this rather strong statement does not venture to deny the privileges of the clergy where they are present, or to suggest doing without them except in cases of necessity. Nay to most of us it would seem almost a truism to assert that in cases of necessity a layman may baptize; and that persons removed from clerical ministrations may have the benefit of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in spiritual communion is, as I have said in a former address (p. 22), a salutary doctrine of the Church of England. Tertullian's words lend no colour to what St. Augustine called setting up altar against altar, much less to setting up a lay altar against a clerical one. I do not even feel sure that he intended them to mean so much as they seem to mean. In the Churches of Africa and Egypt, especially in the monasteries and hermitages, it was customary for people to take home with them consecrated bread and to keep it in store for private communion, sometimes for a long period. Tertullian himself refers to this custom in regard to the case of a woman married to a heathen (2 *ad ux.* 5), and St. Basil has an interesting letter in which he approves the practice of daily or frequent communion (*ep.* 93), adding that in times of persecution it ought not to be considered a hard trial for a private person to take the communion with his own hand. He illustrates this practice from the monastic custom, "All
 "those who live in solitudes as monks or hermits, where
 "there is no priest, keeping the communion in their houses

³¹ "Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiae auctoritas et honor per ordinis concessum sanctificatus. Adeo ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est concessus et offers et tinguis et sacerdos es tibi solus. "Sed ubi tres Ecclesia est, licet laici."

“take it with their own hands. And in Alexandria and in
“Egypt each, even of the lay people, for the most part has
“the communion in his own house and when he wills com-
“municates himself. For when once the priest has conse-
“crated the sacrifice and has delivered it, he who has once
“received it as a whole, and partakes of it day by day ought
“to believe that he partakes and receives from the hand of
“him who has given it.” It seems not unreasonable to
suggest, though I do so with some diffidence, that Tertullian
is referring to this once widely-spread custom, and is re-
minding his readers how responsible this privilege ought to
make them feel.

In any case his words have an application to persons really
thrown on their own resources and at a distance from clerical
help and immediate supervision, in the colonies for instance,
or on shipboard, which I should be glad to think was taken
to heart by our earnest young or older people who may
wander far from home. There are many of the blessings of
united Church life which might be realised by them, espe-
cially in Sunday gatherings for public or semi-public worship,
without attempting the hazardous practice of celebrating the
Eucharist without proper clerical leadership. I can conceive
a Bishop in one of our colonies going a good deal further
than we do at home in authorising lay ministrations, but I
cannot suppose that any Bishop of any age would have ap-
proved of a Eucharistic service without a properly ordained
presbyter. The reason of this is clear. The clergy are
responsible persons, governed by strict laws, and even more
by righteous customs and precedents, specially instructed in
church doctrine and trained to rule and guide others, and
having a Commission to do so from our Lord acting by the
Holy Spirit in His visible body. They have to decide who
shall or shall not be admitted to Communion: they have to
keep the faith and the life of the Church pure from invasion
or defilement. They have on the other hand to take care
that the Church does not become a narrow clique—a little
coterie meeting in a room and refusing fellowship with those
who will not pronounce certain shibboleths. The danger of

laxity, the danger of heresy, the danger of narrowness and partiality, would be in themselves sufficient to make an extension of the maxim *ubi tres Ecclesia est*—"three laymen make "a Church"—so as to cover private Eucharists, utterly contrary to Church order, and an absurdity of imprudence.

Yet, when one comes to look into it, this maxim, taken unguardedly, is one of the main pillars of English Nonconformity—that is to say of all those bodies, however designated, who organise themselves on a simply Congregational basis. It has of course its foundation in our Lord's words, "Where "two or three are gathered together in my name there am I "in the midst of them" (*Matt.* xviii. 20). But these were not the only words spoken by our Lord as regards His Church. They must be taken in connection with His other sayings about unity and universality, about order and discipline, and they must be construed in harmony with His acts and practice, especially the careful training of the Apostles and the commission to them to represent Him to the world. These glorious words about "two or three" are rather a charter of blessing than a constitution of the Church. That was left to be worked out by the Church herself under the guidance of Christ's Deputy, the Holy Spirit.

I cannot help hoping and believing that as this becomes clearer to Nonconformists, as it certainly is becoming clearer to many important persons among them, they will set themselves to work, not to oppose and destroy the organisation and position of the Church, but to join us in such salutary reforms, in regard for instance to patronage, as are necessary to give her the freedom and spirituality which nonconformity aims at. I have no time to indicate more fully what I mean, but as I said in a former Address, I do *not* think the time has arrived when Parochial Councils based on manhood suffrage, with legal powers, would be a useful instrument of such freedom and spirituality. The necessary correlative and correction to such Councils would be a system of Church discipline and Church Courts, and of free legislation by National and Provincial Synods, which those who promote such Parochial Councils would probably be the last

persons to wish to see in vigorous action. We must work with the instruments which God has given us, tempered to the circumstances of our life. Under Establishment by the State we must work with the methods proper to Establishment: without Establishment under other conditions and with other instruments. I have given reasons elsewhere, in my Pastoral Letter of Nov. 1885, for adhering to Establishment, and no doubt other and better reasons could be given. But I have seen no reason in these six years to change my opinion that Establishment is for us and on the whole the best security for true religion.

2. *Of saying the Prayer of Consecration audibly.*

That the Prayers or Thanksgivings of the celebrant were said aloud is so evident that nothing further need be added to prove it. St. Paul, apparently speaking of such eucharistic prayers, warns those possessed of the gift of tongues not to use it for this purpose—"else how shall he that occupies the room of the unlearned say the *Amen* after thy giving of thanks?" (ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ 1 Cor. xiv. 16). We can imagine with what severity he would have spoken if a presbyter had said the consecration prayer wholly inaudibly, in a sort of whisper. This is now, alas! the universal rule in the Roman communion, and has been the local rule of the Roman Church—not always at all the same thing—ever since the eighth century.³² I need not enlarge on the history of this innovation or the reasons which have been given for it, and

³² See the evidence collected by Scudamore *N.E.* pp. 563 foll. The earliest witness to the practice mentioned by him is the "second Ordo. "Romanus in point of age in the collections of Hittorp, Mabillon and others," not later than the 8th century. Amalarius discusses the point in his *Eclogae de officio Missae*; *De "Te igitur" cur secreto cantetur* Migne *P.L.* 105 col. 1326. Caesarius of Arles circa A.D. 502 gives evidence that the consecration of the Eucharist was both seen and heard in his day in the Churches. You can hear the Scriptures read elsewhere, "you cannot see or hear the consecration of the Body and "Blood of the Lord anywhere except in the house of God" (*Hom.* 281 of the Appendix to St. Augustine's Sermons). He speaks of the necessity of remaining to the end of the service, but not of the benefit of communion. Cp. note 27 p. 87. No doubt this sermon was addressed to a rude and half-converted audience. The *Amens* still remaining in the Canon of the Mozarabic Liturgy show clearly that it was said aloud.

the arguments urged in defence of it, which are of no particular interest or value except as showing the shifts to which good men are put in defending what is indefensible. I will only pass on remarking that in this, as in other things, the rule of the Church of England is openness and not theatrical display.

3. *The Consecration Prayer was not definitely fixed in early times*; and 4. *In Justin's time it contained a word of Prayer given by our Lord, which was considered efficacious in the consecration.*

It will be convenient to handle both these points together, and indeed it will be desirable not to limit ourselves only to them, but to consider generally what was the primitive method of consecration, and how the existing forms grew up, and what parts, if any, of them may be considered as necessary to a valid consecration. The most prominent parts, it will be seen, are four in number, though others are constantly found in company with them. The four are, I need hardly say:—(1) *Thanksgiving*; (2) *Invocation*; (3) *The Recital of the Institution*; (4) *The Lord's Prayer*. But before I touch on these in detail I must say a few words of general introduction.

On first approaching this question of the primitive Consecration we cannot fail to be struck by two facts:—firstly that our Lord used a form of words, in Blessing both the Bread and the Cup, which has been wholly lost, and on which the Church seems never to have laid any stress; secondly that His command was to do something, not to say something: to make a solemn memorial of Himself before God, and to eat and drink of it, as He gave His Apostles to eat and drink of it; to do in fact what He did as nearly as it is possible for us to do.

With regard to the first point, it is remarkable that our Lord not only did not attempt to impress His own words upon our memories, but that He gave no command to use *any* particular form of words, as He seems to have done in the parallel case of the Sacrament of Baptism. Certainly the Church which has made the use of certain words obligatory

in the administration of Baptism, has had no such universal or quasi-universal practice in the celebration of the other Sacrament, except it be in the words of administration or distribution.

If therefore we were asked to point to some form as much essential to Holy Communion as the words "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," are in baptism, we might well be inclined to find it in doing and saying, as near as may be, what our Saviour did, when we administer the Bread and Cup which He had blessed, rather than in any particular form of previous blessing. He said "Do this for my memorial," and we more nearly approach His acts when we use the words *the Body of Christ, the Blood of Christ*, or some longer benediction like that of our own Communion Office, in the act of distributing the elements, than in any form of consecration prayer however beautiful and however primitive. It was a merciful providence which preserved these words to our Church, seeing that in the reign of Edward VIth it lost them for a few months.

(1) *The Element of Thanksgiving.*

This being the *primâ facie* view of the case, starting from the New Testament narratives of the institution, we have to ask what is the evidence of the descriptions of the Eucharist in early writers? They speak of it as an act of "breaking bread," that is most probably of taking one loaf and distributing it amongst many persons, or as "giving thanks" or "blessing." By blessing they clearly mean not so much an act of consecration as blessing God for His gift of this spiritual food, for this is clearly the analogy of all the many Jewish benedictions of material things. The words "sanctification" or "consecration" are I think hardly found in the first two centuries as descriptive of the Eucharistic action.³³

³³ Mr. Brightman informs me that the earliest instances of this use of ἀγιδέειν he has been able to find are in Clem. Alex. *Frag.* 82 cf. *Strom.* iv. 25 § 163 of Melchisedek, and of *consecrare* in Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iv. 40, "ita et nunc sanguinem suum in vino consecravit, qui tunc vinum in sanguine figuravit" cp. Origen in *Exod.* xiii. 3 tom. ii. p. 176 E "consecrati muneris."

I do not in the least mean to imply that there was not a thought of this consecration or that there was not a prayer for it in the Liturgy, but I feel sure that it was not the prominent thought in that age. The main thought was the thanksgiving for what God had done for us in Christ, and the bringing it home to the receivers by a solemn distribution of the elements over which thanks had been given. The words εὐχαριστηθεῖσα τροφή, εὐχαριστηθεῖς ἄρτος &c., "Thanksgiven food," "thanksgiven bread," where we should say "consecrated food," "consecrated bread," are of themselves enough to prove this.⁸⁴

The element of thanksgiving is further emphasised both in the *Teaching of the Apostles* (10 and 15), and in Justin's *Apology* (65). "Let the prophets give thanks as they wish," says the *Teaching*. The President "offers up praise and "glory to the Father of all things, through the name of the "Son and the Holy Spirit, and makes a thanksgiving of some "length for His goodness in vouchsafing to give us these "things," says Justin (65); and again, "The President . . "utters prayers and thanksgivings with all his power" (67, see p. 60).

Have we any evidence to determine the form of these Thanksgivings?

It is natural to suppose that they began with the prefatory versicle and response, *Lift up your hearts: We lift them up unto the Lord*, the *Sursum corda* and the *Habemus ad Dominum*, to the use of which St. Cyprian already bears witness (*de dom. orat.* 31). We may suppose also that they were followed by something like our preface, ending with the *Tersanctus* or *Triumphal Hymn* from Isaiah, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth," joined in all likelihood with the verses of the 118th Psalm, "Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest." The

⁸⁴ Justin 1 *Apol.* 66; *ib.* 65 cf. Iren. *haer.* i. 13, 2 (ποτηρίου) τοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς εὐχαριστημένου and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 19 § 96 p. 375 Pott. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ καὶ ὕδωρ ψιλὸν εὐχαριστοῦσιν where εὐχαριστεῖν is a transitive verb used in the sense of "consecrate." See also Scudamore. *N.E.* pp. 574 foll. where other important evidence is collected.

Teaching of the Apostles (chap. x), as we have already seen, supposes such hymns in this part of the service, which probably had a close relation to more ancient forms. Such an act of praise is found in various forms in the Jewish daily and festival services, where it is called Q'dûshah or "Holiness," e.g. in the third of the *Eighteen Benedictions* which contains the words of Isaiah, Ezekiel iii. 12 and Psalm cxlvi. 10. Cp. *De Sola Festival Prayers* vi. 111, 227, &c.

But the great richness and variety of some Liturgies in this matter of prefaces, especially the Gallican and Mozarabic, implies that there was a condition of freedom attaching to it, as indeed there was to the whole of this prayer, or series of prayers. The records we have quoted clearly indicate that their form and length depended upon the ability and will of the minister who said them. He certainly had no book before him to guide or fetter him. No one ever heard of Liturgical Books being confiscated in persecution, as texts of Holy Scripture constantly were.

Up to the fourth century indeed the form of consecration in all its parts appears to have remained a matter of unwritten tradition gradually taking shape, but varying in different places and in the mouths of different persons. St. Basil says distinctly that it was like the use of the sign of the cross and praying towards the East, a matter of custom. "Which of the saints (he continues) has left us in writing the words of Invocation at the consecration (ἀναδείξει) of the Bread of the Eucharist and of the Cup of Blessing? For we are not content with the words which are reported by the Apostle or the Gospel, but we both say some things before them and some things after them, as being of great moment for the purpose of the Sacrament, which we have received from unwritten doctrine." (*de sp. sancto* xxvii. 66.) Here St. Basil implies three of our four parts already mentioned, the Thanksgiving before and the Invocation after the Recital of the Institution from St. Paul and the Gospel; and no doubt all was ended with the Lord's Prayer. Other incidental notices of Eucharistic celebrations during the first three centuries support this description of the unwritten and

traditional character of the Consecration prayers. To say these prayers was, as we have seen, at first the office of the apostolic, prophetic, or Missionary officers of the Church. They spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and it would seem that a certain amount of their spiritual freedom descended upon the local Ministry which gradually took their place.³⁵ Indeed I am inclined to think that the sanctification "by the word of God and prayer," of which St. Paul speaks (1 *Tim.* iv. 5) in reference to ordinary food, and of which later writers speak in reference to the Holy Eucharist, simply means sanctification by the word of God the Holy Ghost speaking first in the Thanksgivings and Invocation of the apostles and prophets of the new dispensation, and then in those of the ministers of the different local Churches who succeeded them.³⁶ I am led to make this suggestion partly by the remarkable description of the Christian assembly in the fourth chapter of the Acts (v. 31) to which the Apostles Peter and John reported their trial before the Sanhedrim. This assembly first burst forth into prayer, and then, it is said, the place was shaken and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost "and they spake the word of God with boldness."

It would be natural that as the outward miraculous signs of the Holy Spirit's presence passed away, and as the Christian Scriptures consequently and properly filled an increasing

³⁵ See above pp. 42 note and 54, and cp. Duchesne *Origines* p. 47. The texts which prove this are 1 *Cor.* xiv. 15, 16, "I will pray with the spirit and I will pray with the understanding also . . . Else if thou bless with the spirit, how shall he that filleth the place of the unlearned say the *Amen* at (or after) thy giving of thanks for he understandeth not what thou sayest?" &c. *Teaching of the Ap.* x "Suffer the Prophets to give thanks as pleaseth them;" *ib.* xiii. the prophets are to receive first-fruits "for they are your chief priests;" *ib.* xiv. "Elect therefore (for the Sacrifice) to yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord . . . for unto you do they minister the ministry of the prophets and teachers. Despise them not therefore; for they are they that are set in honour among you with the prophets and teachers." Cp. *Hermas Mandate xi.*

³⁶ This passage is exceedingly difficult though expressed in words which to the writer must have been perfectly clear. It has been explained of (1) God's word in creation, *Gen.* i. 31 or in *Acts* x. 15; (2) prayer in Scripture language; (3) the Holy Spirit (Ffoulkes); (4) Scripture reading at meals; (5) the Lord's Prayer—and in other ways.

space in the consciousness of the Church, the term "word of God" should be transferred from the utterances of Christian prophets to the books in which their ripest experience was gathered up; and the original meaning of the phrase be bit by bit forgotten. To this gradual and almost unfelt change in all probability was due the gradual progress of the idea that the "word of God" as found in the Recital of the Institution was essential to consecration.

(2) *The Element of Invocation.*

The closest descriptions of the prayer of consecration as distinguished from the thanksgivings that have come down to us from early times concern, curiously enough, heretical or schismatic teachers rather than those of the Church. St. Firmilian writing to St. Cyprian (A.D. 256) describes a prophetess who started up in Cappadocia and professed to administer the Sacraments, and in consecrating the Eucharist used "no contemptible invocation" (S. Cyp. *ep.* 75, 10). We have also two Gnostic apocryphal Acts of Apostles which give us specimens of such invocations over the Eucharistic bread, dating probably from the second or third centuries.³⁷ They differ from one another, but are alike in both containing a series of titles, of an almost magical character, addressed to the powers or attributes or acons which are invoked to descend on the bread. The blessing of the cup is not mentioned in either of the three cases; though it forms the subject of a remarkable story told by St. Irenaeus of the Valentinian heretic Marcus, who by his long and magical incantation changed the colour of the wine to purple and red, "so as to "make it appear that the super-celestial [æon] *Grace* let her

³⁷ The *Acta Thomae* and the *Acta Johannis* published in a more or less incomplete form by Thilo and Tischendorf (Tisch. *Act. Apocr.* pp. 213 foll. and 273) and more fully by Max Bonnet (*Acta Thomae* § 46 pp. 35, 36 Lips. 1883) and Th. Zahn (*Acta Johannis* pp. 243, 244 Erlangen 1888). The passage in the former is the nearest to the form of a Church prayer. It begins 'Ιησοῦ Χριστέ, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς τῆς εὐχαριστίας τοῦ σώματός σου τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος κοινωνῆσαι, ἰδοὺ κατατολμῶμεν τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ ἐπικλήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου σου ὀνόματος. ἔλθε νῦν καὶ κοινωνήσον ἡμῖν. Then comes a string of Gnostic titles ἔλθε τὰ σπλάγχνα τὰ τελεία, ἔλθε ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἄρρενος, etc.

“blood drip into the cup, by reason of his invocation” (*Haer.* i. 13, 2). In themselves these consecration prayers are worthless, but though merely base imitations of the Church’s practice, they shew that the true prayer of consecration was not only variable, but at any rate usually, after the middle of the second century (the time of St. Irenaeus) contained an *Invocation*, or prayer for the descent of divine power upon the elements. St. Irenaeus is the first extant writer who speaks of this practice in the Church, but he argues from it as an established custom: “As bread from the earth receiving the “Invocation (ἐκκλησιν) of God is no longer common bread “but Eucharist, consisting of two parts, an earthly and a “heavenly, so our bodies receiving the Eucharist are no “longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to “eternity” (iv. 18, 5). We need not go through all the evidence on this point in later authors, which has been very well collected by Dr. Hoppe,³⁸ Mr. Scudamore, and others, and forms the main subject of a recent book by Mr. Ffoulkes.³⁹ St. Cyril’s description may stand as an example of the form most usual from the fourth century onwards. After describing the hymn of the Seraphim, he proceeds:— (7) “Then having sanctified ourselves by these Spiritual

³⁸ Lud. Aug. Hoppe *Die Epiklesis der griech. und orient. Liturgien und der römische Consekrationsskanon*, Hurter, Schaffhausen 1864 (now Teubner, Leipzig). Cp. Scudamore *N.E.* pp. 576, 587—594, and 649 (Mozarabic and Gallican).

³⁹ *Primitive Consecration of the Eucharistic Oblation, with an earnest Appeal for its Revival*, by Edmund S. Ffoulkes, B.D. London and New York, 1885. Mr. Ffoulkes’ conclusions are startling. Not only does he hold that the Epiclesis or Invocation of the Holy Spirit is the primitive form, for which no doubt much may be said, but he believes that the Recital of the Institution was introduced with an heretical bias by a Semi-Arian or Macedonian heretic, whom he supposes to have wished to obscure the divinity of the third Person of the Blessed Trinity. He traces all the mischief to the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions, usually called the Clementine, which he conjectures to have been the work of Eusebius of Emesa, a Semi-Arian. Mr. Ffoulkes’ book is full of important matter, but its main conclusion is based on inadequate evidence, and I believe the Recital to be older than he does, and to have a very natural place in the Consecration, particularly in its position *before* the Invocation, which he thinks a great blot. See below p. 105.

“Hymns, we call upon the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the (gifts) lying before Him; that He may make (ποιήσῃ) the bread Christ’s body and the wine Christ’s blood: for in verity whatsoever the Holy Spirit hath touched, is sanctified and changed.” Then follows a description of Intercessions for the peace of the Church, the quietness of the world, &c., then a commemoration of the departed, and then the Lord’s Prayer. These Intercessions we have reason to think are not in their original place.

In the extant Liturgies this Invocation almost always takes the form of an address to God the Father, like that I have just cited from St. Cyril, that He would send down His Holy Spirit upon the Gifts, the Bread and the Cup, and sanctify them, and make them or shew them, to become or to be, either simply or to us, the Body and Blood of Christ. This is indeed the thought underlying, we may suppose, all the Invocations, since our Saviour has so clearly spoken of the Holy Spirit as abiding in the Church in the place of His own visible presence. But as a matter of fact, it is by no means certain that this thought of the operation of the Holy Spirit was always fully expressed in words. Indeed the passage of St. Irenaeus just quoted speaks only of the “Invocation of God,” and the Gnostic Invocations, worthless as they are, are rather direct prayers to a heavenly power to descend, than prayers to God to send down His Spirit. Beautiful as the Oriental Invocation is, we cannot think it necessary, nor need we be seriously dissatisfied with our own, which forms the central part of the Prayer of Consecration proper.

(3) *The Recital of the Institution.*

But if both *Thanksgivings* and *Invocation* were indefinite and variable, there were two other elements, more entirely Scriptural, which formed also from early times the more fixed portion of the Consecration. These are, as we have said, the *Recital of the Institution* and the *Lord’s Prayer*. It is in the first of these that the Western Church has tended, with a certain hesitation, but on the whole decisively, to find the “form” of the Sacrament—supposing with the schoolmen

that the Sacrament must have a necessary and essential form as a counterpart to its matter. The Greek Church has been, on the whole, equally decisive in finding the essential part in the Invocation for the descent of the Holy Spirit. A more probable conclusion is that neither of them is essential, though both are hallowed by long usage, and are in their union, together with the Thanksgivings before and the Lord's Prayer after, the fittest and fullest form that the Church as yet has learnt to use.

The evidence with regard to the *Recital of the Institution*, which for the sake of brevity we may call the *Institution*, seems to show firstly that it was introduced early, but was not universal; secondly, that it was considered at first as descriptive rather than effective, in fact as a ground of appeal for the Invocation rather than as itself a prayer. We have already given a hint as to one of the causes which may have gradually led to its being considered essential (p. 100).

The evidence respecting the *Lord's Prayer* is similar. It has more the character of universality, and it seems to have had more weight ascribed to it in early times than the *Institution*. But this latter is, it must be allowed, a moot point, on which only a probable conclusion can be attained. The language of early writers, beginning with St. Paul, as to sanctification of food "by the word of God and prayer" (1 *Tim.* iv. 5) is, no doubt unintentionally, extremely ambiguous, and has proved as great an enigma and as severe a crux to interpreters as perhaps any words of Holy Scripture. It is quite clear, however, that whatever St. Paul may have meant, he did not mean the *Institution*, for he is speaking of "every creature of God," that is, of all kinds of food, possibly eaten at an Agapé, but certainly with no special reference to the Eucharist. Hence, when later writers like Irenaeus speak of bread and wine "receiving the word of God," and when Origen and Gregory of Nyssa⁴⁰ speak of consecration of the bread and wine by "the word of God

⁴⁰ See the passages quoted by Hoppe *die Epiklesis*, pp. 233 foll., esp. Origen in *Matt.* tom. xi. 14, and Greg. Nyss. *Oratio Catechet.* p. 71 ed. Krabinger Monach. 1838. The passage occurs chap. xxxvii. tom. ii. p.

and prayer," they must either be held not to mean the *Institution* or to be using St. Paul's language in a non-natural and misleading sense. Further St. Irenaeus uses the expressions "receiving the invocation of God" (iv. 18, 5) and "receiving the word of God" (v. 2, 3) as convertible terms. I do not think that by "the word of God" he means "the Holy Spirit" simply, as Mr. Ffoulkes seems to do, but I think he may well mean the word of God spoken by the prophets, or embodied in the quasi-prophetic and extemporary or half-extemporary utterances of the Ministers of the word, as I have already suggested. St. Paul *may* conceivably mean the Lord's Prayer or something else by these enigmatical words, and it is to be recollected that the Lord's Prayer has long been used as a grace before meat in many countries. But I think this less probable.

The *Institution* is found in almost all existing Liturgies, but it is not referred to distinctly by any of the ante-Nicene fathers as part of the consecration prayer, nor is it touched upon in the full description of the Liturgy by St. Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 348) who explains and paraphrases the other three elements of the Consecration—the Thanksgivings, Invocation, and Lord's Prayer—nor is it found in the Nestorian Liturgy of SS. Adaeus and Maris, which is thought to be of an early date and certainly before the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431). Nor is it expressed, except in some cases by the first two words, in the Gallican books. St. Germanus passes from the *Sursum corda* to the *Confractio et commixtio* without the least reference to the *Institution*: indeed it would seem that he considered the Commixture to be the important point (*P.L.* 72, 94). The position of the *Institution*, sometimes before and sometimes after the Invocation⁴¹ is also, in all probability, an evidence

536, ed. Paris 1615. I have not seen Krabinger's edition, but the note on p. 7 (by Fronto Ducaeus) just before the Appendix, shews that there is a doubt as to the reading *εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ λόγου* or *εἰς τὸ σῶμα, διὰ τοῦ λόγου μεταποιούμενος καθὼς εἴρηται ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου*. But in neither case is the change effected necessarily referred to the *Recital*. "By means of the Word" may mean by the Son of God, as
r High Priest.

⁴¹ See Scudamore *N.E.* pp. 592 foll.

that it was of more recent introduction into the Liturgy. This is an argument of the same sort as is used by scholars in reference to a certain section of St. John's Gospel, which is for good reasons thought to be borrowed from another book. The supposed early references to consecration by these words cannot be considered as at all certain; indeed, some of those, which are often cited as witnesses, are of no value for the purpose. In any case, notwithstanding some suggestions of Dr. Neale's, we cannot suppose that the record of Institution, apparently taken from the Gospels and St. Paul, could have been used before the publication and circulation of those books; and therefore it is hard to suppose that it has since become necessary, having never been enjoined by any Council or other sufficient authority, and not even by any authority absolutely binding in the opinion of Roman Catholics. Indeed St. Gregory the Great was clearly of opinion that consecration by the Lord's Prayer alone was the practice of the Apostles (*Ep.* ix. 12, circa A.D. 600). He may have been, and probably was, wrong, but he was a student of Liturgies and had personal acquaintance with the Greek Church, and had access to materials no longer in our possession.

That the *Institution* was at first considered descriptive rather than effective, a ground of fact on which we appeal to God, in the Invocation which generally follows, and beseech Him, to do so great an act, is an opinion reasonable in itself. We naturally refer to God's great acts or revelations of old time, His beginnings and foundations, when we ask Him to do something of the same kind anew. Thus we refer to the Flood, to the Red Sea, to the Baptism in Jordan, in every Christian Baptism; to the sending abroad of the Apostles and others in Ordination; to Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, and to the miracle of Cana, in the Marriage Service. That the use of the words of Institution is of this kind is also the opinion of those who most fully represent the mind of the Greek Church, even at the present day. In a note to a recent edition of the Greek Prayer Book the Deacon is directed *not* to point with his

stole to the elements, when these words are said, as the custom seems to have grown in some places to be, on the ground that the words are said by way of historical narration (*διηγηματικῶς*).⁴² This was the line taken up by Marcus Eugenicus, Archbishop of Ephesus, who represented the Greek party at the Council of Florence; and in consequence of the feeling of those who sided with him, through the intervention of the Greek Emperor, no sentence defining the form of consecration was introduced into the decree of Union agreed to at that Council between Easterns and Westerns.⁴³

The only quasi-conciliar authority which the Romans have to show for their opinion is the Decree of Pope Eugenius IVth, for the instruction of the Armenian Uniats,⁴⁴ published at the

⁴² See the *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* Venice 1869.

⁴³ See the passages from Mark and his forerunner Kabasilas, Metropolitan of Thessalonica (*circa* A.D. 1354), quoted by Hoppe *die Epiklesis* pp. 5 foll. What actually happened at the Council was that Bessarion, Bishop of Nicaea (afterwards Cardinal), the head of the Romanizing party among the Greeks, made a statement on 5th July, 1439, in his own name and in that of the other fathers representing the Oriental Church to the following effect:—"Verba dominica esse illa quae mutant et transsubstantiant panem et vinum in corpus verum Christi et sanguinem, et quod illa verba divina Salvatoris omnem virtutem transsubstantiationis habent," Hoppe l. c. p. 5 quoting Mansi *Conc.* xxxi. col. 1045—1047 and Mabillon *Mus. It.* tom. 1 part 2 p. 243. See also Sylvester Sguropulus *Vera historia unionis non verae inter graecos et latinos sive concilii Florentini exactissima narratio*, Greek and Latin ed. Rob. Creighton (aft. Bp. of Bath & Wells) Hagae comitis 1660, sec. x. cap. 8 p. 293, who gives a similar summary of Bessarion's speech, and says that the Latins wished the definition to be introduced into the decree of union but that the Emperor would not permit it. [Bp.] M. Creighton's passing statement *Hist. of the Papacy during the Reformation* ii. 188, "The Greeks did not doubt the fact, but objected to the declaration as unnecessary," seems scarcely borne out by the older narratives.

⁴⁴ The first decree is to be found in Labb. *Conc.* xiii. p. 537, the second *ibid* p. 1211. The Catechism of the Council of Trent says (Part. II. chap. 4, quest. 19, p. 136 ed. prin. Romae 1566), "Praetermittenda sunt hoc loco sanctorum Patrum testimonia, quae infinitum esset enumerare, et Concilii Florentini decretum, quod omnibus patet atque in promptu est, &c." Mr. Ffoulkes seems to have read *Tridentini* for *Florentini*, and naturally looks in vain for a decision on this subject in the Decrees of Trent, *Primitive Consecration*, p. 469. The following is the passage of the first Decree for the Armenians, which it may be convenient to have in full:—"The form of this Sacrament is the words of our Saviour, "by which He perfects (conficit) this Sacrament. For the priest "speaking in the person of Christ perfects this Sacrament. For by

Council of Florence in 1439, and enlarged in 1441, but never receiving (as far as I am aware) any conciliar approbation. This is nevertheless the only authority which the Catechism of the Council of Trent thinks fit to name to prove the necessity of the form in question.

Now had this decree been of an ordinary character, I might perhaps be considered presumptuous in doubting how far Roman theologians, especially since the Vatican Council, would feel themselves bound by it. But inasmuch as it is in this same decree that the Pope makes an astonishing blunder in describing the "matter" or outward sign of ordination, I do not suppose that he can be considered as much of an authority on points of ritual. A writer who makes the matter of ordination consist in the giving of the chalice and paten to the priest and of the Book of the Gospels to the Deacon, and who wholly forgets to mention imposition of hands, can hardly be supposed to have much weight in a discussion on liturgical questions. This is in fact one of the recognised difficulties which defenders of Papal Infallibility in detail are hardly able to meet.

(4) *The Lord's Prayer.*

That Justin means the Lord's Prayer when he speaks of the "word of prayer which is from Him" by which our

"the virtue of the words themselves the substance of the bread is "turned into the body of Christ and the substance of the wine into the "blood of Christ." In 1441 Pope Eugenius, having had his attention, we may suppose, called to the want of clearness of the first sentence, gave the following explanation :—"Whereas in the above-written decree "for the Armenians the form of words is not explained, which the Holy "Roman Church, supported by the doctrine and authority of the "Apostles, has always been accustomed to use in consecrating the body "and blood of the Lord, we have thought it right to insert it in these "presents. In the consecration of the Body [the Church] uses this "form of words, *Hoc est enim corpus meum*, and of the Blood, *Hic est "enim calix sanguinis mei, novi et aeterni testamenti, mysterium "fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem pecca- "torum.*" A Roman theologian who wished to minimize might say that this only stated the Roman form without anathematizing any other or declaring it invalid. Hoppe (p. 224) admits the insufficiency of this decree, saying that it "hat bekanntlich nicht unausweichlich dogmatische "Giltigkeit." He appeals of course to the Catechism and the prefatory matter of the Missal *De defectibus* no. V. sec. 1 *De defectibus formae* for more precise statements.

ordinary food becomes Eucharist, is at any rate a tenable and to my mind a probable opinion (pp. 61, 62). The fact that it is put forward by members of the Lutheran communion, who have no Invocation in their Liturgy, but merely the Recital of the Institution followed according to Luther's use (though not now always in the "Evangelical Church") by the Lord's Prayer, is indeed to most of us no very strong argument.⁴⁵ They may be said to have a natural tendency to justify their position. But when we look at the facts themselves, apart from their interpreters, they are seen to form a solid body of argument. When we find the Lord's Prayer coming at the end of the prayer of Consecration, and as its culminating point, as the prayer which we are "bold to say," in all existing ancient Liturgies actually used (that is in all except the Clementine)⁴⁶; when we find this use referred to by the

⁴⁵ This opinion is generally connected in this country with the name of Chevalier Bunsen, who popularised it in his *Hippolytus and his Age*. Hoppe (p. 228) quotes several other German writers as supporting it. Hoppe's argument that in existing (Greek) Liturgies the Lord's Prayer is said by the people and therefore it cannot have been said here in Justin's time, because he only mentions the people as saying *Amen*, is weak: since the custom of the second century in this matter (if it were the custom) was not necessarily the custom of the fourth. In the Roman Liturgy, which may represent Justin's custom, the Lord's Prayer was said by the Priest alone. So also it probably was in the African Church. See S. Aug. *Serm.* 58 quoted in note 22.

⁴⁶ See the authorities collected by Seudamore *N.E.* pp. 654 foll. Another exception may have been the Roman Liturgy in the period just before St. Gregory. see the passage quoted below note 49. But our information as to the Roman use before St. Gregory is very incomplete and uncertain. It may well be that in Justin's time the Roman use was, as he seems to describe it, a thanksgiving ending with the Lord's prayer to which the people answered *Amen*. Then the Lord's prayer may have been wholly or partially dropped and then revived by Gregory. Cp. the 10th Canon of the IVth Council of Toledo A.D. 633, Bruns p. 226, by which it appears that some priests at that time in Spain only said the Lord's prayer on Sundays. The Lord's prayer was said in the Gallican Liturgy as St. Germanus testifies *Brevis Exposit.* Migne *P.L.* 72 p. 94 "Oratio vero Dominica pro hoc ibidem ponitur, ut omnis oratio nostra in Dominica oratione claudatur." It is noticeable that St. Germanus does not seem to refer to the words of Institution and that they are omitted in some of the old Gallican service books, and in the rest only indicated by the words *Qui pridie*. See above p. 104 cp. Duchesne p. 203. He quotes St. Germanus' very obscure sentence but does not explain it p. 208.

Fathers⁴⁷; when we read their explanations of the petition for daily bread as a petition for the spiritual food of the Sacrament⁴⁸; when we recollect that this was the only prayer, as far as we know, given by our Lord to His Church and therefore the only one which could be said to be a word of prayer *παρ' αὐτοῦ* i.e. delivered by Him; and when we recollect Gregory the Great's strongly expressed assertion that the Apostles by that prayer alone were accustomed to consecrate the oblation⁴⁹—this opinion assumes great consistency. I do not say that it acquires certainty.

These enquiries, my brethren, have much more than a mere antiquarian or literary, or historical interest, though I have tried to conduct them with all the impartiality which befits such investigations. The conclusions to which they lead us seem to be in particular two in number.

First, the early Church believed in the reality of the effect of consecration, whether by a simple thanksgiving or by any

⁴⁷ See esp. Optatus Milevit. *de schism. Don.* ii. 20 "ad altare conversi (after admitting penitents) orationem dominicam praetermittere non potestis;" S. Cyril. Hierosol. *Cat. Myst.* v. 11; S. Aug. *ep.* 149, 16 *ad Paulinum* (alias 59), defining *precationes* as said before the beginning of the blessing of what is on the Lord's table, "*orationes vero cum benedicitur et sanctificatur et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia dominica oratione conceudit*;" S. Hieron. *contra Pelag.* iii. 15 "Sic docuit Apostolos suos ut quotidie in Corporis illius sacrificio credentes *audeant loqui Pater noster . . . Panem quotidianum sive super omnes substantias venturam Apostoli deprecantur ut digni fiant corporis Christi*," etc.

⁴⁸ Tertull. *de oratione*, 6; S. Cypr. *de dom. or.* 18; S. Cyr. *Cat. Myst.* v. 15; S. Aug. *Serm.* 56, 57, 58, 59, tom. v. pp. 468A, 478A, 485B, 492D., ed. Gaume.; S. Hieron. *ut supra*.

⁴⁹ S. Greg. Mag. *Ep.* ix. 12 (alias vii. 64) *Johanni Episcopo Syracusano*. He is defending certain changes made by him in the Liturgy: "Orationem vero dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus; quia mos apostolorum fuit ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent. Et valde mihi inconveniens visum est ut precem quam scholasticus composuerat super oblationem diceremus et ipsam traditionem quam Redemptor noster composuerat super eius corpus et sanguinem non diceremus. Sed et Dominica oratio apud Graecos ab omni populo dicitur apud nos vero a solo sacerdote." St. Gregory may have formed this opinion from the passage of Justin or from that of St. Jerome quoted in note 47, or from some source unknown to us. His word "*traditio*" suggests the *παρ' αὐτοῦ* of Justin; it should not be altered to "*oratio*." His reference to the Apostles touches Jerome.

or all of the other devotional instruments of which we have been speaking. The voice of the Church is "It is no longer "common bread but Eucharist, consisting of two parts, an earthly and a heavenly." A mystery has been performed, like that of the Incarnation, in which under earthly forms a divine power was brought into the world, and a glory revealed to men, which is given to men, shewn to men, helpful to men, existing outside them though existing for them, and not existing merely in virtue of their faith or their appreciation of it.

On the other hand the Church shrank from fixing the moment of this mystery. By a kind of prophetic instinct of reserve and caution, she made no attempt to treasure up our Lord's own words of Blessing or Invocation, and, for several centuries at least, had no doctrine as to a necessary "form" of consecration. She did not define that up to a certain definite instant common bread was there, and then at a given minute and in a given space, which could be pointed at with the finger, or announced with the ringing of a bell or the blare of a trumpet, the divine power was brought into the earthly forms. Not so was the Incarnation of the Son of God. The Nativity indeed was heralded by the voices of the angels, but the message of the Angel which announced the Incarnation was in the stillness of the Virgin's chamber. So it is in the Eucharist. When the consecrated Bread and Cup is delivered to the Communicants the Body and Blood of the Lord is proclaimed aloud to the faithful. But the actual moment of the mysterious union of Christ with the elements is not known to man. To seek to fix it is to be wise above the teaching and example of Christ, wise above the doctrine of the Apostles, wise above the early Liturgies. It leads to a dangerous and curious materialism and carnality, from which I trust you will all keep yourselves and the flocks committed to you free.

No doubt human weakness is such that it seeks to have the certainty of exact knowledge and to support and vivify its languor by the thrill of momentary emotion. But we must fight against this weakness. It is unworthy of the name of true faith. It is an attempt to intrude sight and sense into

the domain of the spiritual and the unseen. Teach your flocks that Christ, spiritually and actually present, though unseen, Himself gives His body and blood to them in the Sacrament, but do not seek to localise and, so to say, temporise the presence they adore, or you will be leading them astray. Even the Catechism of the Council of Trent, which has unfortunately done so much to rivet the opinion of the Schoolmen upon the conscience of Western Christians, may warn you of the danger of too curious enquiry and too close application of the thought of place (ii. 5, 41 and 42). It is much more important to emphasise the living presence of Christ as the great High Priest feeding His people, than to think of Him as shut up within the elements. If we turn our eyes and thoughts and reverence to the latter, we shall be in danger of forgetting the former.

V. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOOD CALLED EUCHARIST.

“When the President has given thanks (says Justin) and “all the people has answered, those who are called among “us Deacons give to each of those who are present to partake “of the bread over which thanks have been given, and of the “wine and water, and it is sent by the Deacon’s hands to “those who are absent” (65).

There are three points to be commented on here :—(1) the administration of both elements by the Deacons ; (2) the administration individually ; (3) the after use of the Sacrament.

(1) *The Administration by the Deacons.*

There is quite sufficient evidence to show that this use was not peculiar to the particular Church of which Justin is describing the custom. At a later date indeed restrictions were usual, and it became common to limit the Deacon to the delivery of the Cup.⁵⁰ But traces exist of their ancient pri-

⁵⁰ Cf. S. Cyprian. *de Lapsis* 25 A.D. 251, S. Aug. *Serm.* 304, 1 (on St. Laurence), *Lit. Clement.* Hammond p. 21. St. Chrysostom treats it as forbidden for them to do even this *Hom. xlv. in Matt.* § 3. St. Ambrose’s words implying that St. Laurence, as deacon, *consecrated* the cup, stand alone and are variously explained, *de off. min.* i. 41 § 214.

vilege, even so far as to shew that the Deacons sometimes ministered to Presbyters, and these indications are found till a comparatively late date in some countries. The Council of Nicaea A.D. 325 forbade the Deacons to give the Eucharist to presbyters; the Liturgy called St. James' represents them as ministering both Paten and Chalice to the people; Isidore of Seville A.D. 610 similarly treats the dispensation as part of the Deacons' office, though this had only been conceded in case of necessity but still conceded by the Council of Carthage in A.D. 398.⁵¹

In our own country a canon of Aelfric, of the 10th century, says "(a deacon) should baptize children and housel (i.e. communicate) the people." This liberty was restricted to cases of necessity, according to the tenor of the Canon of Carthage, by the Legatine Synod held by Abp. Hubert Walter at York in 1195, when it was decreed "that a Deacon (unless "in the most urgent necessity) do not baptize or give the "Body of Christ."⁵²

It is easy to see that the Deacons were gradually, though perhaps not unwisely, being deprived of a privilege which had been anciently theirs, but that the tradition of it was too strong to be wholly obliterated. In our own Church it seems to be intended that the celebrant himself shall always deliver the hallowed bread, and the Deacon or assistant Priest the Cup. But in case of necessity, such as the infirmity or defective eyesight of the Celebrant, or the large number of communicants, where more than one paten is used, there can be nothing wrong in a Deacon dispensing either half of the Sacrament, and in general it is his duty among us to administer the Cup.

(2) *The Administration individually.*

Nothing is said in detail by Justin of the manner of communicating, but it is certain that in early times the sacrament was given to each singly, standing, and with words addressed

⁵¹ *Canon Nicaen.* xviii, *Lit. S. Jacob.* Hammond p. 51, Isidore 2 *de eccles. offic.* 8, *Conc. Carth. IV.* Canon 38, Bruns p. 145.

⁵² Aelfrici Canon xvi. Wilkins *Conc.* i. p. 252; *Decret.* v. ib. p. 501.

to each. His brief account merely implies that each person present received from the hands of the Deacons, that is to say that there was no passing from hand to hand, as in some reformed congregations to the present day, and as was the puritan custom in some places in England. Nothing can be gathered from our Blessed Lord's words in giving the first cup (*Luke* xxii. 17) "Take this and divide it among yourselves," on which some puritans relied as a justification. But it is indeed noticeable that He said of the true Eucharistic Bread and Cup "Take Eat," "Drink ye all of this" in the plural number. This is one of the points where Tertullian notices a change of practice in the Church, observing that though our Lord gave the command (to take and eat) to all, yet we receive "from no other hands than those of our Presidents," *i.e.* not from one another (*de corona* 3 cp. p. 59 n. 3). We have in fact no evidence of the contrary practice that I am acquainted with. Certainly as soon as any discipline by way of excommunication came into use, such as necessarily must have grown up very early and in the lifetime of the Apostles, it was requisite that no one but those who were responsible to the whole Church, and who could be trusted for their discretion, should administer the Communion. The same reasons, which led to the restriction of the consecration to the authorized Ministry, were applicable almost equally to suggest restrictions on the administration. It was only a carrying out of the same principle that put the Deacon into a more subordinate place than he at first occupied in regard to this office. Our Lord (we may presume) followed a different practice when He gave their first communion to His chosen band of Apostles in order to imply their equality, just as, at the Feedings of the multitudes, He had used each of them to act as His instrument in the distribution of the loaves and fishes. At any rate no argument from His single action in regard to them could be drawn so stringently as to make it a necessary guide to our practice, or to justify a departure from the wholesome practice of the Church in its reasonable use of discretion.

The standing posture of the communicant in primitive times seems to be well established though those who mention it are not many.⁵³ This is still the rule in the Oriental Churches, and some traces of it remained till a comparatively late period in the West. The celebrant is now the only person who as a general rule receives standing in the Western Church, unless it be at a consecration of Priests when the newly-ordained, by a beautiful survival of the primitive relation, act as concelebrants with the Bishop who has consecrated them.⁵⁴

It is said by Liturgists that the Pope, when he celebrates solemnly, receives sitting; but others say that he only seems to sit. One of the Roman ordines of the 8th or 9th century speaks of him as returning to his seat to communicate before the fraction and commixture, so that the custom is certainly of some antiquity.⁵⁵ But it would be hazardous in the absence of all other evidence to argue from this exception to a more general rule for other Bishops.

The words used at the distribution varied, but were in almost all cases, as we have hinted, some form adapted from our Lord's own words, *The Body of Christ, the Blood of Christ*, either simply or expanded into a benediction. Justin says nothing of this, but directions to use these words are often absent from Liturgical books, even when we know from other ancient sources that they were used. They were no doubt traditional, and probably to some extent variable, in the mouths of the Deacons.

⁵³ E.g. S. Dionys. Alex. ap. Eus. *H.E.* vii. 9, S. Chrys. *Hom.* xx. in 2 *Cor.* ix. 15., S. Basil *Ad Amphil. canon* 56. See Scudamore *N.E.* p. 726 foll. and the plates in Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe, études archéologiques* Paris, Imprimeries Réunies, 1883 &c., tom. iv. pl. 257—263 both for receiving standing and in the hands. These plates and the letter-press accompanying them shew the gradual growth of communion kneeling and reception in the mouth, probably not before the 12th century. See the frescoes of San Lorenzo at Rome of the 13th century, tom. i. pl. xix. also published by the Arundel Society.

⁵⁴ Our custom at Salisbury is for the newly ordained priests to continue kneeling together until they have communicated. On the celebrant's posture in receiving in our own Church, see the next address.

⁵⁵ See Duchesne *Origines, Appendice* p. 445, "pontifex vadit ad "sedem suam"; cp. Scudamore p. 698.

The communicants received the consecrated bread into their hands, as the common custom now is amongst ourselves, the right hand resting on the left, as St. Cyril says, to make a throne, as if to receive a king. The Roman custom of receiving into the mouth is comparatively late, and the date of it has not been accurately fixed. It may have been due either to an exaggerated reverence, such as that which at one time obliged women to cover their hands with napkins, or to a wish to avoid the danger of the wafer falling to the ground, or it may have been intended to prevent communicants retaining the bread and taking it home for private reservation or even for magical ceremonies.⁵⁶ At first the chalice was held by the minister to the mouths of the communicants, as ancient writers and monuments represent it.⁵⁷ This was no doubt found after a time to be inconvenient, though it is still used among the Lutherans. In the Eastern Churches now a spoon is used with which the species of bread dipped in the cup is ministered to the laity, no doubt to avoid the dangers specified above. The partial use of a tube in the West, for the reception of the consecrated wine, was a prelude to the denial of the cup first to the laity and then to all but the celebrant.

(3) *The after Use of the Sacrament.*

In the first ages of the Church, and generally speaking up to and during great part of the fourth century, the Eucharist, especially the consecrated bread, was widely used outside the Christian assembly. Justin tells us that it was part of the

⁵⁶ See the Rubric at the end of Edward VIth's first Prayer-book, and *Seadamore* p. 725.

⁵⁷ See S. Cyr. *de lapsis* 25 "perstitit tamen diaconus et reluctanti licet de sacramento calicis infudit." For pictures see Rohault de Fleury *La Messe*, esp. tom. iv. pl. 257, 260—264, cp. S. Cyr. *Cat. Myst.* v. 22. In two representations on plate 259, from Psalters of Mount Athos and Moscow (9th cent.), Apostles are represented as taking the cup into their own hands. In one of those on plate 264 from a Stuttgart Latin Psalter, of the 12th cent., our Lord seated holds the Chalice in his left hand and puts a round cake or wafer, probably previously dipped into it, into the mouth of the communicant (S. Peter?), who is standing.

deacons' office to carry it to those who were not present—implying that this was done at the direction of the President. This was not only, we may suppose, in case of those hindered by sickness, but as a token of love to those who were otherwise prevented from attending—it might be by reason of work, as for instance to slaves, it might be to prisoners, it might be to clergy or laity as a sign of communion. Clergy about to travel or newly-ordained Bishops and Priests would also take the Eucharist with them. I have already mentioned the case of private lay communion, especially in Egypt and Africa, on the part of those who took home for themselves a portion of the consecrated elements, either to their own homes or to monasteries.⁵⁸ This was a custom which was specially and properly resorted to in times of persecution. But it clearly could not be carried on in quiet times without dangers of different kinds. The Eastern Church generally, and our own more explicitly, have met these dangers by reverent consumption of what remains in the sacred building.⁵⁹

In the Eastern Church however some of the consecrated bread, steeped in the chalice, is reserved for the sick and dying, and hung up in a box, usually behind the altar.⁶⁰ This however is in any case out of sight of the people.

⁵⁸ See above p. 91. An interesting case is mentioned by St. Dionysius of Alexandria ap. Euseb. *H.E.* vi. 44 of "a small portion of the Eucharist," apparently reserved by the Priest in his own house, being sent to a sick person by a servant. Much other information is given by Scudamore *N.E.* pp. 903 foll. St. Irenaeus (*fragm.* 3) gives the earliest instance yet known of the sending of the Eucharist to a distance as a pledge of Communion. The practice was forbidden by the Council of Laodicea in 365 and the use of the Eulogia or Blessed Bread substituted. The practice of *commixture* may have been at first really a preparation for such a sending away of the Eucharist, in a convenient form and in both kinds, particularly for the sick. It might also be for immediate administration: see the last note and cp. Scudamore p. 675. In some Gallican Churches the *commixtio* was perhaps the most important point of the consecration; see esp. the description of S. Germanus *P.L.* 72 col. 94, referred to p. 108 n. and below. *Augere* there may mean to add wine to the chalice, *addere* to put the bread into it. The Roman prayer "haec commixtio et consecratio" "Corporis et Sanguinis D. N. J. C. fiat accipientibus nobis in vitam aeternam" may possibly be a Gallican prayer introduced into the Roman rite. *Consecratio* is otherwise hardly explicable.

⁵⁹ Scudamore pp. 895 foll.

⁶⁰ *ib.* p. 915.

In the Western Church, on the other hand, the danger of misuse outside the Church has been met, or supposed to be met, by reservation in a special receptacle, which has gradually come to take a prominent place in the eyes of the worshippers and to absorb great part of the ordinary devotions of the people in the popular service of Benediction with the reserved Sacrament. From the ninth century onwards this box received the name of Pyxis or Pyx, and began to be placed on or over the altar.⁶¹ For some time before the Reformation in this country this Pyx was usually suspended over the altar, often in the form of a Dove or enclosed within a Dove, and there received the worship of the people. Innocent IIIrd however had decreed that the Sacrament should be kept under lock and key, and this decree was inserted in the Canon Law.⁶² In the Roman Communion I suppose that such a locked Tabernacle is now universal or almost universal, thus testifying to the original intention of the reservation, not for the purposes of adoration, but for safety.

It is not unnatural that some should wish to restore reservation for the sick ; but it is certainly very rarely necessary, and being directly contrary to the rubrics of our Communion Office, it must be pronounced unlawful without fresh authority. Nor should I personally be anxious to move for such authority. The dangers of profanity on one side and of superstition on the other have been proved too great, and we had better not hamper ourselves with such dangers. Further, the act of consecration, in our service for the communion of the sick, is so beautiful and seemly and so short, that, except in cases of grave emergency, like cholera or pestilence, there could be no reason for wishing to do without it. On the contrary there is every reason for clinging to it. But if a general rule authorising reservation for the sick were passed, it would inevitably tend to become the

⁶¹ Scudamore p. 909, quoting Leo IVth A.D. 847 (Labbe. *Conc.* viii. 34), "Let nothing be set on the Altar but boxes with the relics of the Saints, or perhaps the four holy Gospels of God, or a *Pyx* with the body of the Lord for the Viaticum of the sick."

⁶² *Decret. Greg. IX.* book iii. tit. xlv. chap. i. *Statuimus.*

ordinary method (in many parishes at any rate) to reserve always, on the plea of providing against emergency, and to give up consecration in the sick room.

We have now, my dear brethren, touched rapidly upon the main features of the great mystery, as it was set before the Church in the Second Century, with illustrations carrying us on to our own day, and showing, I hope, the coherence and continuity of Church history in a concrete form. In the course of this address I have ventured to make some suggestions which may seem bold, and to propound some conclusions which to some of you may possibly be novel. I would say, however, do not judge hastily of what you have heard. The subject is a wide and difficult one. I do not claim to possess any special knowledge as a Liturgist—indeed I am often conscious of the narrow limits of my knowledge—but I may just mention that in taking up this subject I have returned to some of my earliest studies as a teacher at Oxford, when leisure for thought and ready access to books were real conditions of life. I shall be glad of any criticism which your greater knowledge can furnish; I shall be thankful if I can stimulate any of you, young or old, to read and think on this matter for yourselves.

To each I say, as a student, with the old poet who was the friend of our boyhood,

Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum.

To each I say, as a “fellow-elder,” with the Apostle, “As every man hath received the gift, *even so* minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, *let him speak* as the oracles of God; if any man minister, *let him do it* as of the ability which God giveth: that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and dominion for ever and ever. Amen” (1 *Pet.* iv. 10, 11).

IV.

THE COMMUNION OFFICE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

I do not propose, my brethren, to go deeply into the somewhat difficult and perplexing questions which concern the origin of the Communion Office in our present Book of Common Prayer, or to recount at length the revisions to which our Liturgy was subjected from A.D. 1548 to 1662.

It was, as you know, in March, 1548, in the second year of King Edward VIth, that the first English *Order of Communion* was published, the precursor of the *Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church: after the use of the Church of England*, which came into use on Whitsunday, 1549, and which is the foundation of all the later books. On 20th Dec., 1661, the finally revised Prayer-Book was adopted and subscribed by the Bishops and Clergy of both Houses of Convocation and of both Provinces. In the following year the book was attached to the Act of Uniformity and thus received Parliamentary sanction, completed by the Royal Assent on 19th May, 1662.

Our present office in all its details has now nearly two hundred and thirty years' authority, and has been subjected to the test of time and experience and of minute comparison with other formularies. Since it is a human work, it is possible to see points in which it might be amended or improved; and since it is a work dating mainly from a particular epoch, it is possible to indicate details, especially of arrangement, which were natural to that epoch rather than particularly suitable to our own. We cannot blame the Church of the United States for certain alterations which it has made, to a great extent following the Scotch precedents of a return to the language and structure of the earlier

Liturgies. But it would be difficult for us to adopt any amended or altered form, even if we could all agree to do so, without a loss very disproportionate to the possible gain.

What we can do is to use the precious heritage that has come down to us in a reverent and intelligent manner, and, while we recognise a certain area of variation in our use, such as I have referred to in a previous address (pp. 80, 81), to make as much as possible of the great and profound agreement which exists between us all. In many respects, such as the use of the surplice in the pulpit, the employment of surpliced choirs and the like, there is a wonderful advance towards a common method in externals which at one time caused no little stir and debate. It is easy to foresee similar advances in the future. I think we can also observe a corresponding tendency to caution and considerateness on the part of those who have led the way in the matter of change or return to ancient practice. I do not expect, nor do I wish, to see an absolute uniformity; but I should like to see such a measure of unity and mutual understanding that, not only a Bishop or Archdeacon or Rural Dean, but any Incumbent or Licensed Priest, might be welcomed to officiate or assist at the Holy Table in any Church of the Diocese without feeling himself, or bringing to others to whom he ministered, a sense of incongruity or uneasiness. There is no doubt that the absence, to a certain extent, of this natural freedom of intercourse in holy things, as far as it exists, is a cause of weakness to our beloved Church; just as its presence is a great source of strength to the Roman Communion. The fact that in that Communion a Priest has, as a general rule, the duty to say Mass daily, makes it necessary for him on his travels to have free access to the altars of the Churches wherever he may be. He is admitted as a brother, and is allowed to minister, if he brings the proper certificate, and thus feels himself at home in whatever place or country he may be. I do not wish to introduce this system of daily, and practically private, celebrations for all clergy in priests' orders, which would be alien to the character of our teaching and dangerous to our own spiritual life. But I think that we

ought to be ready as a matter of course to welcome brother Presbyters to the service of the Sanctuary, especially those of our own Dioceses, of course under proper conditions, and to make a real effort to exhibit in deed the unity of the Church, both as regards its ministers and its services. This unity exists in great measure, but is not as yet universal. Perhaps in our own Diocese we have as much of this freedom and brotherliness as in any in England.

The constant migration which goes on, especially in the southern and central part of Dorset, is another and a very practical reason for this effort to make our services more thoroughly harmonious, and to introduce a real solidarity of clerical brotherhood.

I shall therefore enter into a certain amount of practical detail, even on minute points, and shall comment on the Communion Office in its different aspects, trusting that what I say will be accepted in the spirit in which it is written; and with a hope and a prayer that it may be of real use to my brethren, to whom I feel that I owe a debt to give them my best and most careful thoughts on a subject which touches nearly every part of their clerical life.

I shall divide what I have to say under the following heads:—

1. On the general principles which underlie our service and on the contrast between it and the Lutheran and Calvinist offices; with some observations on the difficult questions of the Eucharistic sacrifice and the nature of the presence of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the Sacrament.

2. On the general structure of our service as compared with the older Liturgy from which it was derived, its omissions, alterations, and additions.

3. On the frequency of the celebration of the Lord's Supper and on the rules as to communion in our own Church.

4. On the hours of celebration and on the presence of non-communicants.

5. On the private preparation for the celebration and communion.

6. On the preparation of the Elements.

7. On the parts into the which the service is divided, with notes on the method of conducting it.

1. *On the general principles underlying our service and on the contrast between it and the Lutheran and Calvinist formularies.*

The main object of the Reformers everywhere was no doubt to restore the dignity of Communion, and to bring the lay-worshippers to look to that as their principal duty in regard to the Sacrament. Previously they had been taught that they were not fit for Communion more than once a year, and that their chief duty was to attend as devout and sympathetic spectators of the Sacrifice, and as doing worship to the Sacrament.

Let me quote the prologue to the once popular *Lay-folks Massbook*,¹ of which I have ventured slightly to modernise the language. It is ascribed to the twelfth century, but even at that comparatively early date says nothing of the communion of the people.

“The worthiest thing, most of goodness,
In all this world, that is the messe.
In all the books of holy kirk
That holy men, that time, gone work,²
The messe is praised manyfold;
Its virtues might never be told.
For if thousand clerkés did nought else,
After that the booké tells,³
But told the virtues of messe singing,
And the profit of messe hearing,
Yet should they never the fifth part,
For all their wit and all their art,
Tell the virtue medes and pardon,
To them that with devotion,
In cleanness and with good intent,
Do worship⁴ to this Sacrament.”

¹ Edited by Canon Thos. Fred. Simmons for the Early English Text Society, Trübner and Co., 1879.

² *i.e.* At any time have written.

³ This line is merely a colloquial phrase to fill up space and rhyme with ‘else’—much like our “as they say,” “as the story goes.”

⁴ By worship we must of course understand ‘honour,’ ‘respect,’ ‘reverence,’ including, but not simply identical with, ‘adoration.’

To remedy this one-sided and mutilated condition of things was the natural and proper object of the Reformers ; but the manner in which the cure was attempted differed widely in the Lutheran and Calvinist congregations on the Continent, and both present a striking contrast to our own Liturgy. Both remedy one-sidedness with one-sidedness of a different kind, though in very various ways. Our own Liturgy alone of the three preserves its balance.

If we compare the Lutheran and Anglican formularies we shall find that the Lutheran has preserved in parts a greater external resemblance to the Latin rite than our own Church has thought it necessary to enforce, both in the form and sequence of the portions retained, but that it has wholly lost an important part of the primitive Liturgy.

This no doubt was due to the overmastering personality of Luther, which had happily no counterpart in the English Reformation. There was also a more extended preparation for the reforming movement among us and a longer period in which it worked itself out, not ending indeed till the period of the Restoration. More persons of different degrees and orders of mind were concerned in it. Men had been trained in freedom of debate by the constant assemblies of clergy and laity in Parliament and Convocation. The successive Sovereigns took a more personal, though sometimes a misguided and misguiding interest, in the details of Church policy and government. The Bishops were mostly men of piety and learning, even when they were vehemently opposed to one another, and their orderly succession was always maintained. These and many similar causes contributed to the peculiar character of our Reformation settlement, the chief of all being the conservative character of the people, when untroubled by theorists, schemers, and agitators. There was thus a strong underlying traditional current to counteract the Lutheran and Calvinist influences which successively prevailed.

It would not be difficult to point out features of our Liturgy which are due specially to one or other of these three currents of feeling ; but as the conclusions would be somewhat conjectural, notwithstanding the labour that has

been spent upon the elucidation of the subject, I propose rather to exhibit in a concrete shape what the Lutheran and Calvinist forms were and are like, and thus to enable you to contrast them for yourselves with our own. You will, I feel sure, agree with me that we have great reason for thankfulness in the result, as far as it affects ourselves, much as we must regret the hindrances to the reunion of Christendom which this comparison certainly reveals; for any form, however incomplete, used for such a high and holy purpose becomes dear to those who use it. It is associated with their best thoughts and purposes, and with the revelations of God's love and will to their souls. To tamper with it, even when others generally pronounce it faulty, seems almost sacrilegious. But much may be done by a sympathetic and dispassionate study, which, while it strengthens our own love of what is our own, leads us to recognise the beauty and the force of other forms, and to learn at least to understand much which at first seemed alien and unattractive.

I have before me the Liturgy of the "Evangelical Church" in the countries subject to the Prussian Crown, reprinted in 1879, after the first edition of the *Agende* put out on 19th April, 1829,⁵ by King Frederick William III., who may without offence be called the founder of the United Church of that country, in which "Lutherans" and "Reformed" find a common ground.

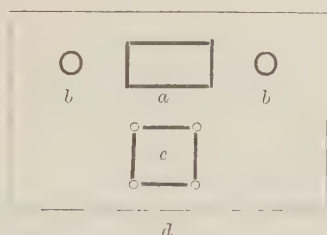
This Liturgy is substantially the Lutheran, as described by Luther, except that it makes it optional to use the *Lord's Prayer* after or before the *Institution*, or not at all, and wholly omits (as we should expect) the elevation after consecration, which Luther for a while retained for the sake of those who were weak in faith.⁶

⁵ *Agende für die evangelische Kirche in den Königlich Preussischen Landen von 1829*, Berlin, 4^o, 1879, printed by E. S. Mittler and Son. I owe a knowledge of this book to Canon Kingsbury, who is a valuable link between our Diocese and our fellow-Christians on the Continent, especially in Germany.

⁶ Luther's own service is described by Hermann Jacoby, *Liturgik der Reformatoren* i. pp. 256 foll., Gotha 1871, from the *Formula Missae et Communionis pro ecclesia Wittembergensi* 1523, and the *Deutsche*

The "Evangelical Church" does not shrink from the use of the term "Altar," which is the regular word in this service book. It has also a very clear illustration of the altar and its furniture, which I reproduce, only using English words for the German. It will be found on p. 20, and shews that a crucifix and a pair of lighted tapers are part of the regular ceremonial.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE ALTAR.



- a* The Crucifix. *b b* The Candlesticks with lighted wax-tapers.
c The great Bible. *d* The place for the celebrant (Liturgist).

The first rubric is —*The Minister (der Geistliche) steps during the Introit in his priestly Attire (im priesterlichen Ornat) before the Altar and makes a silent prayer of preparation. After concluding it he turns towards the Congregation, which stands up and remains standing with proper reverence until the Altar-prayers and choruses are ended.* He appears to say all the prayers towards the people, except this silent prayer and the words of Institution and Lord's Prayer. The stricter Lutherans however apparently insist on other prayers being said towards the altar. See Herzog *Encyklopädie* s.v. *Liturgie* viii. p. 438 note.

In the service that follows we find much outward similarity to the older service. The ritual crossing is preserved in saying the Absolution and the Benedictions and in the recital of the Institution. The Agnus is prescribed to be

Messe of 1526. His attack on the offertory, &c., may be found on p. 263, and his words about the elevation, p. 264, "clevetur panis et calix, "ritu hactenus servato, vel propter infirmos, qui hac repentina hujus "insignioris in missa ritus mutatione forte offendentur, praesertim ubi "per conciones vernaculas docti fuerint, quid ca petatur elevatione."

said or sung after the consecration, and hymns are sung all through the communion of the people. In many respects the order of the Latin service is followed, as previously in use in Germany, especially in the earlier part of the Liturgy. But, in deference to Luther's exaggerated hatred of the "offertory" and the whole sacrificial element in the ancient service, nearly all the primitive features of the offering of the bread and wine, and of the memorial of Christ made in the Sacrament before God and man, have been blotted out. The Lord's prayer is retained or dropped at pleasure and there is no Invocation, and no direction for any manual acts except the sign of the Cross.

No doubt Luther, like our own Reformers, had reason to fear the doctrine that the mass is a "true propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead," which was afterwards imposed upon the Latin Church by the Council of Trent.⁷ But it must have been a great hindrance to the growth of the principles of a sound Reformation to have given up the truths of which this was an after growth and a corrupt development. It no doubt gave many conservative minded theologians a shock to find how deeply Luther had broken with the primitive Church, as well as with Roman errors. It is on this point that we feel thankful to have preserved the substance in our Prayer-Book as finally revised, where Lutherans have rather grasped at the shadow. Whatever may be the case with the people and the less instructed clergy there are few if any leaders of thought among us who would not prefer our simple and sometime ambiguous rubrics and consequent variety of external usage in details of ceremony, coupled with the fuller memorial that we make, to the definite ritual directions of the "Evangelical Church" without this memorial.

⁷ Concil. Trident. *Sessio* xxii. *de sacrificio missae* cap. II. "Sacrificium missae est propitiatorium tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis." The latter clause is explained of souls in purgatory "pro defunctis in Christo, nondum ad plenum purgatis" cap. IX. Cp. Canon I. "Si quis dixerit, in missa non offerri Deo verum et proprium sacrificium . . . anathema sit." In cap. II. it is called "sacrificium vere propitiatorium,"

It is, I feel sure, because we are convinced and can prove that our English Liturgy has a good hold upon primitive tradition, that there are so few either of our clergy or laity who have a real inclination to Romanism. Some influential men of the last generation set a bad example, which was rather widely followed—but not even then by their most pious, prudent and learned adherents,

Those who now take the Romeward path are at any rate usually the less thoughtful and solid, and some of them, after being for a time absorbed by the current, are cast back, as it were, upon the shore, with faith shattered and conscience strained—a warning not to be lightly viewed by those who are acquainted with such cases as those I speak of.

Let me now describe the Liturgy, of which I have been speaking, more in detail and sequence.

A public preparation is made on the day before or on the same day, consisting mainly of an address (*Beichtrede* p. 33), a Confession, an Absolution ending with the sign of the Cross, and an offer of help on the part of the clergy in the way of private confession and absolution for those who are troubled in conscience.

The service itself commences with a Hymn or *Introit* (*Eingangslied*). Then come versicles and responses followed by a *Confession* and a *Sentence* (*Spruch*) selected by the Minister from a number (as our offertory sentences are)—a sentence which is not exactly an absolution but is more or less of that character. Then follow the *Gloria Patri*, *Lesser Litany*, *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Collect*, *Epistle* and *Gospel*, and the *Apostles' Creed*—all of course in German.

After the Creed follows another *sentence* selected from a number of benedictions and forms of praise, then the *Sursum corda* and *Preface*, followed by the *Sunctus*, *Hosanna*, and *Benedictus qui venit*. Then comes the *General Prayer* for the Church and the Sovereign and State, followed by the *Lord's Prayer* and the *Blessing*, with the sign of the cross at the end. The *Sermon* may come either after the Creed or the Lord's Prayer. The Service ends, if there is no Communion, with the *Hymn* that follows the Blessing.

There is frequent provision for choral accompaniments, &c. So far the service is almost exactly the old Latin, without the offertory. If there is a Communion the Minister first reads an *Exhortation*, and then says, "Kneel down and receive the *Words of Institution*." He then turns to the altar and says the words beginning, "Our Lord Jesus Christ in "the night in which He was betrayed took bread," &c. The note tells us that the Lord's Prayer may precede or follow these words; but it is omitted in the text. The Minister makes the sign of the Cross after the words, "This is my "body," "This cup is the New Testament in my blood," and when he has finished the words he turns to the congregation and says, "The peace of the Lord be with you all." Then follows a prayer to our Lord, asking for forgiveness and strength to keep His commandments, which may be considered a preparation for communion, though it has no special colour or very striking fitness for this place; and then the *Agnus* said three times.

Then follows the *distribution*, with the words, "Take and "eat, saith our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: This is my "Body, which is given for you; do this for my memorial" (or "remembrance"), and similarly at the delivery of the cup, which is in practice, I believe, put to the people's lips and not given into their hands.

All the time of the distribution hymns are sung. Then follows a *Thanksgiving*, and the whole closes with the triple Aaronic blessing, ending with the sign of the Cross, and another hymn.

How unsatisfying this second part of the service is will be felt at once by any one who compares it with our own. Yet much, no doubt, is done by the hymns to supply the want.

The Chevalier Bunsen, as is well known, tried in his own peculiar way to remedy some of these defects in his *Allgemeines evangelisches Gesang- und Gebetbuch zum Kirchen- und Hausgebrauch*, or "General Evangelical Hymn and Prayer-Book for Church and Home use." One of the prayers after the words of Institution which he there suggests for optional

use, from the Nuremberg Service Book of 1543, is an address to our Lord Jesus Christ beseeching Him to bless the gifts of bread and wine and to make them His body and His blood. But I am not aware that this book has received any authority in the Lutheran Communion.⁸

But if Luther's service might give a shock to those who prized traditional forms, Calvin's was calculated almost to stun them. I take the description of it from his *form of public prayers and administration of the Sacraments* (attached to his Catechism of the Church of Geneva), published first, I believe, in 1545.⁹ Yet it is impossible not to be impressed with a certain force and dignity, and even pathos, in the prayers, heavy and long as they are.

When the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated notice is to be given the Sunday before to prepare the people; no children are to be present but those who have been well taught and have professed their faith in the Church. Strangers who may be in the city who wish to communicate are to be instructed by the Ministers (p. 58).

The service on Sunday morning begins with the *versicle*:—"Our help is in the name of the Lord, who hath made heaven and earth. Amen." Then follows a *confession* of sin made by the Minister and followed mentally by the people. Then a *Psalm* is sung, then a prayer, chosen by the Minister, followed by the *Sermon*. After the Sermon follows a long *intercessory prayer* extending over two closely printed folio pages, including amongst other prayers those for rulers and governors and for pastors and people, and for the conversion of all men (this last somewhat as in Hermann's *Consultation*), for those who are afflicted, for those who are under the tyranny of Antichrist and for the congregation. In the course of this prayer there is an uncomfortable feeling of antagonism to

⁸ This book was published at the Rauhe Haus, Hamburg, in 1846. The prayer in question is said to be taken from the *Pfälzische Agende*, Nürnberg 1543, and may be found on p. 483 of Bunsen's book.

⁹ Reprinted in Latin in Joannis Calvini *Tractatus Theologici omnes certis classibus congesti* fol. Genevæ 1576, pp. 18—22. The original was in French and Latin.

other religious bodies and an exaggerated stress laid upon the Fall of Man and its consequences. The language indeed often seems painful and unfit for a Christian congregation, and very alien from that love which casteth out fear.¹⁰

Then follows a prayer with special reference to the *Lord's Supper*, of which the following is the principal part:—

“And as our Lord Jesus Christ was not content with having once offered to Thee His Body and His Blood upon the Cross for the remission of our sins, but also destined them for our use as food of eternal life (nobis quoque in alimentum vitæ æternæ destinavit): so do Thou, of Thy great goodness, grant that we may receive this great benefit from Him in true sincerity of heart and with ardent desire: that being filled with certain faith we may partake of His Body and Blood, or rather entirely of Him: just as He who is true God and Man is truly holy heavenly Bread for our enlivening. . . . Therefore, O Heavenly Father, give us power this day and in this manner to celebrate the happy memory of Thy Son (effice . . . nos . . . celebrandæ faustæ Filii tui memoriæ compotes). Grant also that we may exercise ourselves in it, and may proclaim the benefit of His death; that receiving new growth and strength both as to faith and all other blessings, we may with the greater confidence profess ourselves Thy children, and glory in Thee our Father.”

After this the *Apostles' Creed* is recited.

After the Creed, which is apparently said by the Minister alone (p. 58), follows the recital of the *Institution*, which is made simply and explicitly a historical narrative.

“Hear in what manner Jesus Christ instituted His most holy Supper: as Paul has recorded in the Eleventh Chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians. ‘I have received of the Lord, saith he, that which I also delivered unto you,’” and what follows down to ‘not discerning the Lord's body’ (1 *Cor.* xi. 23—29). Then follows a ‘fencing of the Table,’ as the Scotch call it, a driving away and repelling, in very strong language, of all idolaters, heretics, breakers of the peace of the Church, and offenders of all kinds against the

¹⁰ P. 51. Sine te hoc exorari ut verè nobis consèii perditæ nostræ originis, simul etiam reputemus quantam damnationem mereamur: & quanto cumulo in dies nobis impura & scelestæ vita eam augeamus: ut quum nos boni omnis vacuos esse, carnemque nostram & sanguinem planè à cernenda regni tui hæreditate abhorreere cognoverimus, ex intimo cordis sensu firmâque fiducia dilecto Filio tuo Jesu Christo, Domino nostro & Servatori ac Redemptori unico, nos dedamus: ut in nobis ipse habitans veterem illum nostrum Adamum extinguat, &c.

moral law. This exhortation and an instruction on the character of the Sacrament occupies a closely printed folio page, and has much that is true and forcible mingled with its unattractive and unloving colouring; but it is far too theological and discursive for the time and place. Then, without any further consecration, the bread is administered by the Ministers and the wine by the Elders of the Church. The Communion was probably taken sitting (Daniel iii. pp. 161, 162). Whilst this is being done a Psalm is sung or a suitable passage of Scripture is read aloud (p. 60). After it a *Thanksgiving* is made of a simple and natural character, and the whole concludes with the *Aaronic Blessing* (p. 52).

It is hardly necessary to point out the bareness, harshness, and narrowness of this formula, which has unfortunately taken root in some of the strongest, though not the largest, Christian communities, and has fostered in them a spirit often of antagonism and antipathy towards other bodies. Yet we must be thankful that it has been instrumental (as in Scotland) in keeping up a certain affection, though a distant and awful affection, for the Sacrament, and a belief in it as a means of grace and a real partaking of Christ. Sometimes Presbyterians living in England put our people to shame by the regularity of their communions and the carefulness of their preparation.

Nor must we omit to notice the important movements in the direction of Liturgical revision which have taken place in the "Reformed Churches" both in France and Switzerland and in Scotland. The Calvinist models being rather in the way of Directories than of complete Formularies, and permitting freely the extempore element, it has been possible for ministers of these countries to publish and use new forms, which have in many respects returned to the older Liturgies, without contravening their own principles. I refer particularly to the Neufchatel service as amended in the beginning of the last century, to the remarkable Liturgy published by the great French preacher Bersier in 1888, and to the yet more important efforts of the "Church Service Society" in the Scotch Establishment. The *Εὐχολόγιον* first published in

1867 is now, as I learn from the Bishop of St. Andrews, used extensively in the Kirk of Scotland and without opposition. It contains (e.g. in its fifth edition, 1884) an *Order for the Celebration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion* which certainly exhibits traces of its Calvinian parentage, but is evidently modelled on the ancient Liturgies.¹¹ Let me recommend a fuller treatment of this subject, which is of great interest, to some of our younger clergy as a subject for a book, like that for which we have to thank Mr. Swayne, written as you will remember at my suggestion.

Some have gone so far as to say that Calvin's doctrine of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament and our reception of Him there, differs very little, if at all, from the Anglican doctrine. No doubt Calvin's doctrine was very different from the mere "nuda commemoratio" of Zwinglianism, with which some among us have perhaps ignorantly associated it.

¹¹ The Scotch traditional form may be found in *A Collection of Confessions of Faith, Catechisms, Directories, Books of Discipline, &c., of public authority in the Church of Scotland*, 2 vols. Edinb. 1722, in the *Book of Common Order or the Order of the English Kirk at Geneva whereof John Knox was Minister: Approved by the famous and learned man John Calvin*, dated Geneva Feb. 1556. It is of course very like Calvin's own. The rubric directs all to sit at the Communion, vol. ii p. 452. *The Directory for the Publique Worship of God*, London 1645, also deserves study. It orders frequent Communion, and in the prayer before the sermon it directs the minister to pray "for the Propagation of the Gospel and Kingdome of Christ to all nations, for the conversion of the Jews, the fulnesse of the Gentiles, the fall of Antichrist, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord" (p. 20). It is of course Calvinist in its general form, but has some beautiful parts. The *Εὐχολόγιον* referred to in the text has now the following title, *A Book of Common Order; being forms of prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and other ordinances of the Church; issued by the Church Service Society*, fifth edition, revised and enlarged, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh & London, 1884. The first edition contains a useful analysis of different services, and to it (p. 34) I owe my knowledge of the *Neufchatel Service*. The Dutch seem to keep up the reception sitting, and to show the least advance.

Through the kindness of my esteemed friend Prof. Samuel Berger, well-known for his history of the Bible in France and similar learned works, I have copies both of the Reformed (Calvinist) Liturgies and of that used in his own communion "The Church of the Confession of Augsburg" in that country:—(1) *La Liturgie ou la manière de célébrer le service divin dans l'église de Genève*, Toulouse, 4^e, 1861, reprinted

But I cannot believe that a doctrine which is at all adequately expressed in such a formula as I have described, really represents the doctrine of the Church of England. Hooker—who began life under Calvinistic influences—was naturally inclined to make the best of it; and if we said that Hooker's doctrine of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament was very like that of Calvin, there could be little to object to in such a statement. Yet Hooker could not possibly have felt that the Calvinistic *service* expressed the fulness and mystery of which he was conscious, though he might define the "presence" in

from the Geneva edition of 1788. This is Calvinist of the old-fashioned type. It is interesting as containing a prayer for the Heathen, Jews and Mahometans, to be said on Monday evening, p. 15. The Festivals of Christmas, Easter, the Ascension, and Pentecost are also recognised, and it is implied that there will be a Communion also in September; (2) *Liturgie pour le service de Dimanche matin et pour la célébration des Sacrements adoptée par le Synode général officieux des églises réformées de France tenu au Vigan 1890, Montauban, Granié, 1891.* It recognises the presence of non-communicants, but gives any who desire to retire an opportunity to do so. The "fencing of the table" is retained (p. 23), but it is made less harsh, and the doctrine of the Communion is made more attractive (p. 24). It implies that the Communion "by tables" has partly gone out of use; (3) *Liturgie à l'usage des églises réformées* publiée par Eug. Bersier pasteur à Paris, Fischbacher, 1888. This is a very remarkable book and deserves careful study. It recognises not only the great festivals but the seasons, and has three lessons for each, morning and evening, and it restores to the people the duty of responding and brings back to the Communion office many of the ancient forms preserved by ourselves. It has an Invocation over the bread and cup, with a ritual breaking of the bread and taking of the cup into the hand (p. 229), and a memorial of the passion and resurrection followed by the Lord prayer. The communicants surround the table but it is not said whether they sit or stand or kneel; (4) *Liturgie ou manière de célébrer le service divine dans l'église de la confession d'Augsbourg*, Nancy, printed by Berger-Levrault and Co., 1887—a revision apparently of the *Liturgie de Montbéliard* of 1741. The *Célébration de la Sainte-Cène* reminds us both of the Lutheran and Calvinist forms. The word *altar* is used at the beginning. There is an *absolution* as well as a *confession*, and the minister speaks of himself as 'ministre ordonné de l'église' in giving it. The *Lord's Prayer* precedes the *Institution*; and the words of *administration* are Scriptural. 'Take, eat; this is the body of Jesus Christ, who was delivered to death for the remission of your sins,' &c. But there is nothing like the same amount of similarity to the older service which there is in the "Evangelical Church," and there is the Calvinist "fencing of the table" before Communion, and the same sort of long theological exhortation at the beginning.

Calvin's terms. Further we must remember that our Prayer-Book was modified not a little after Hooker's time, and almost always in a conservative direction. The influence first of Lutheranism and then of Calvinism passed away, having always had to struggle against the under-current of religious conservatism, and that under-current at the last revision became dominant, though not all-absorbing. In order to give a true account of the Anglican doctrine we must look to the present Prayer-Book and Catechism, and consider which of the existing traditional interpretations of the rite best agrees with them.

Now in our own Prayer-Book we notice that the whole tendency of the revision has been to give dignity, solemnity, and joy to that part of the Liturgy which is only used when there is a Communion. The Lutheran service when there is no Communion is, as we have seen, nearly as solemn and festal as when there is one. But the transposition of the *Gloria in excelsis* in our book to the end of the service, and the placing of the *Confession* and *Absolution* after the *Offertory*, and the introduction of the *Comfortable words* with their reference to our 'Advocate with the Father' just before the *Sursum corda*, mark very distinctly that the lifting up of the hearts to fellowship with the angels is not something to which Communion is occasionally appended, but is an integral and essential part of it. This observation seems to me to be of very great moment to the right understanding of our Liturgy, as you will easily understand from what I am about to say.

Nor can anyone fail to perceive that the placing of the alms and oblations of bread and wine together at the offertory, which was introduced at the last revision—though it might have been traditional as regards the elements—is a very important recognition of the Eucharist as an offering of first fruits and a dedication of our life and wealth and all that we have to God. The verbal oblation that follows, "We humbly beseech thee to accept our alms and oblations," is of course of a piece with it, and refers, as we see by a comparison of the previous books, to both. So again the distinct specification

of the manual acts which was made at that time—and with general consent—gave emphasis to what was already there, which is hardly in either Lutheran or Calvinist office, namely, the definite act of *Consecration*, the setting apart and blessing of the bread and wine for the divine purpose of the Sacrament.

The *Prayer of oblation* that follows Communion is indeed alternative in its use to the beautiful *Thanksgiving*, but its doctrine must be taken to be part of the doctrine of the Church. There cannot be two doctrines on the subject, though on one day a formula expressing a certain aspect of doctrine is permissively exchanged for another.

Let us also look to the Catechism. Now there are two important elements in the sacrament, on which much and often painful controversy has been expended, the sacrificial element and the character of the presence of Christ. These are both touched in our catechism. The first in the question as to why the Sacrament was ordained, the answer to which is—"For the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby." The second in the question about "the inward part, or thing signified," the answer to which is "the Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper."

The first answer leads us to think of the memorial of Christ made before God, and especially to think of it as a thank-offering, a "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving." For a memorial or remembrance of the death alone, without a remembrance of the benefits which we receive by it, might lead to merely sad and painful thoughts—to the cross indeed, and to Him who hung thereon, but not to a memorial of the risen and ascended Christ, whose triumph we expect, while we note a new step or way-mark along the road to it at every celebration of the Lord's Supper.

All doctors of English theology reject the doctrine of a repetition of Christ's sacrifice, and reject the teaching of the Council of Trent which defines the Eucharist as "*sacrificium vere propitiatorium*." But all of them who know what they are talking about speak of it freely as a commemorative

and representative sacrifice. I need only quote Bishop Ridley, one of the bitterest opponents of the Roman mass, but a man well trained in knowledge of the Fathers. He defines "our unbloody sacrifice of the Church" as "the sacrifice of praise and thansgiving," "a commemoration, a showing forth, and a sacramental representation of that one only bloody sacrifice, offered up once for all" (*Works* p. 211).

We need not therefore shrink from such language ourselves—unless there is a danger that ill-instructed hearers may confuse *any* notion of sacrifice with a repetition of the one sacrifice, or a claim to make a new propitiation. That is happily well guarded against by the Introduction to our prayer of Consecration, but we must be careful, even so, of conveying wrong impressions to dull or slow understandings.

What then is meant by a commemorative and representative sacrifice? It surely is connected best with that part of the doctrine of the primitive Church and with that part of the ancient Liturgy which we reserve for communion times, which recognizes the union of the worship of the Church on earth with that of the Church in heaven, which looks to the *Sursum corda* as the key note of the whole action, which regards the presence of angels and archangels and the whole company of heaven as quite as real as that of the visible congregation of the faithful. I should say then that English theology tends more and more clearly to bring into prominence the principles underlying the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse of St. John as interpreted for us, to give only a few instances out of many, by St. Irenaeus, St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, and St. Gregory Nazianzen and others of the fathers, and by many later writers up to our own times. St. Irenaeus says, speaking of God's commands under the law and the Gospel:—"So therefore He " desires that we too should *offer a gift at the altar* frequently " and without intermission. There is then an altar in the " heavens. For there our prayers and offerings are directed. " And (he desires that we should offer) at the temple, as " John says in the Apocalypse, *And the temple of God was " opened; and (at the) tabernacle, for behold saith he*

“ the tabernacle of God in which He will dwell with men.
“ Of which the (ancient) people received a type, as also the
“ prophets prophesied of them as things to come (*hacr.* iv.
18, 6).¹²

So St. Cyprian, it seems to me, in his well-known letter on the offering of the Chalice (*ep.* 63, 14) not only insists on the Christian priest doing what Christ *did*, but thinks of him as doing, in a representative way, what Christ *does*. He refers to our Lord as “ the high priest of God the Father,” and speaks of the Christian Minister as “ truly performing his “ office in Christ’s stead (*vice Christi vere fungitur*) when he “ imitates what Christ did. And he then offers a true and “ full sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, if he so “ begins to offer after the pattern of that which he sees Christ “ to have offered.”

This certainly is the meaning of St. Ambrose in an interesting passage which comes in, somewhat unexpectedly, in his book *on the duties of the Clergy* (i. 48, § 248), where he is speaking of patience under insults. This leads him to treat of future perfection and of the sort of intermediate place which the Gospel state has between that of the Law and of Heaven. “ We must therefore seek to attain those things in “ which perfection is, in which truth is. Here (on earth) we “ have the Shadow, here (on earth) we have the Image, there “ is the Truth. The Shadow is in the Law, the Image is in “ the Church, the Truth in heaven. In former times a lamb “ was offered, a calf was offered, now Christ is offered, but is “ offered as a man, and as subject to suffering ; and He offers “ Himself as a Priest, that He may put away our sins : here “ in Image, there in Truth, where He intercedes for us as an “ Advocate with the Father.” This passage does not stand alone, but is closely parallel to another of the same writer’s in his *Exposition of the xxxviiith Psalm*, § 25.

This thought is taken clearly from the Epistle to the

¹² The words of St. Gregory Nazianzen *Orat.* 42 in *Pascha* quoted by Grabe on this passage are worth comparing :—“ Let us sacrifice to God “ a sacrifice of praise, at the altar which is above, together with the “ heavenly choir above.”

Hebrews, in which the doctrine of our Lord's High Priesthood is more thoroughly worked out than in any other of the New Testament writings. Without going into full detail, it will suffice to shew that the author considers Him not as a High-priest seated on the throne of God who has given up His office, but as one who having offered His sacrifice once for all, and having taken His seat on the throne, still continues to plead it, still, that is to say, continues His High-priestly action. He has entered Heaven and consecrated it anew after its defilement by the sin of the apostate Angels; He has sprinkled the mercy-seat, the throne of God and of Judgment, with His own blood; He can never suffer again. But until the consummation of all things He is still expecting, waiting, praying, and particularly interceding for us. His mediatorial kingdom and His High-priestly kingdom are one, and last without a break from the Ascension to the Day of Judgment. In this sense Christ is always offering His sacrifice, since He "ever liveth to make intercession for us" (*Ileb.* vii. 25) on account of and in virtue of that sacrifice. He is still "a minister (λειτουργός) of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched and not man," and inasmuch as He is our High-priest "He too must necessarily have somewhat to offer" (viii. 2, 3). He is a High-priest also after the order of Melchisedek, bringing forth bread and wine, and feeding us from the altar of the heavenly sanctuary. By Him or through Him we too must "offer our sacrifice of "praise to God continually, the fruit of our lips giving thanks "to His name" (xiii. 10, 15). It is true that the author of the Epistle does not specially mention the point of His feeding of ourselves with bread and wine as one in which our Lord is after the order of Melchisedek, and does not say that the altar of which he speaks (xiii. 10) is an altar in heaven. But both inferences lie close to hand, and certainly were very early drawn by the Fathers and the composers of the Liturgies. Christ as a minister of the true sanctuary has His altar, and where is that altar except in heaven? The Apocalypse implies distinctly that it is there (vi. 9, viii. 3, 5). Hence the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom has the following prayer in

the middle of the *Great Intercession*, after the *Invocation* and before the *Lord's Prayer*.

[Let us pray] for the venerable gifts now brought before Him and hallowed. That our merciful God, the lover of mankind, who hath received them unto His holy and heavenly and spiritual altar, for a sweet-smelling spiritual savour, may in return send down on us His divine grace and the gift of the Holy Ghost.¹³

The Western Liturgies have expressed this thought less simply in the prayer *Supplices te rogamus* which runs as follows:—

We humbly beseech Thee Almighty God; command these gifts to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angel to Thy altar on high in the presence of Thy divine Majesty, that all we who shall have received the all-holy Body and Blood of Thy Son by partaking at this altar, may be fulfilled with all grace and heavenly benediction. Through the same our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The wording of the Latin prayer is ambiguous, since "His holy angel" may be either Our Lord Himself "the angel of mighty counsel" or one of the angels. It was probably on this amongst other accounts that the prayer was dropped in our service-book, though some expressions from it have been incorporated in the *prayer of oblation* (as it is called) after the *Lord's Prayer*. It would have been a great help to our devotions if the prayer could have been so transformed as to convey the true and full idea without uncertain phraseology. It would I venture to think have by its very mystery, suitable to this wonderful action, supported the existing tone of the Office and would have helped to rebuke mere common sense and logical analysis, and have checked the attacks of rationalism and the secret inroads of superstition.¹⁴

¹³ Hammond *Lit.* p. 117. The passage may possibly have been suggested by that in the Clementine Liturgy, where it is found in the Deacon's bidding prayer. It runs thus:—"Again and again let us pray to God through His Christ, on behalf of the gift that has been brought before our Lord God, that the good God may receive it through the mediation of His Christ at the altar which is in the heavens for a sweet-smelling savour." *ibid.* p. 20.

¹⁴ There is a very interesting and full comment on this prayer in Paschasius Radbertus *de corpore et sanguine domini* viii. 2, 3, 6, &c. *P.L.* 120 col. 1287. There is matter in this treatise of a doubtful character tending to the superstitious of a later age, but this part is apparently more original and important than the rest. It was written, I believe, in A.D. 831 and before his controversy on the subject of the Lord's Supper with Ratramnus.

The other most difficult point is the question of Christ's presence and its relation to the elements. I have already spoken of the general doctrine of the Church on this mysterious subject (pp. 109, 110). With regard to our own Church it is clear from the sentence of the Catechism, which I have quoted, that she believes and teaches her children to believe in a "taking" of the Body and Blood of Christ, as well as an inward reception. The taking is of course spiritual, that is it is only possible in virtue of our possession of an immortal spirit, capable of holding converse with God.

There are many things of this nature in human life. You can give to a man a position or a possession which none but a man endowed with reason and with a spiritual nature can hold, but the thing given exists outside of him. You can give him possession of gold or land which would be worthless to an inferior animal. You can give him honour and dignity. But he takes the land or the honour as a thing outside himself. Something similar is the way in which, in virtue of our spiritual nature, we take the body and blood of Christ.

But what is it that assures us that we have the right to expect this gift to be ready for our taking? It cannot surely be the mere imitation of Christ by the priest's action. It must be through the presence of Christ promised to two or three gathered together in His name. The same thought of His High-priestly life in heaven, and of our rising up for the time to be members of the congregation gathered round Him in heaven, which helped us in our explanation of the Church's sacrifice, can alone help us here in our explanation of the virtue in the simple material substances of which we partake. He is present invisibly, but full of life and power; present by the operation of the Holy Ghost. We do not understand what the manner of the Holy Spirit's work is, but its result certainly is to bring Christ's presence to us, to bring us close to Him. He is present then as High-priest and as King, and He gives us His body and His blood, under the forms and symbols of the gifts brought out by His type Melchisedek.

We do not adore the gifts, but we adore the giver. We see the gifts, but our whole attitude of mind is heavenly not

earthly, spiritual not local and temporal. We therefore make our worship a heavenly and spiritual worship, not an earthly and carnal one.

2. *The general structure of our service compared with the older Liturgy.*

If we compare our office with that previously in use, particularly in our own Church of Sarum, we shall find (1) some things *omitted*, (2) some things *transposed* and *altered*, and (3) some things *added*. I will mention some of the more prominent and striking changes under the three heads.

(1) Among the *omissions* we may reckon as the most striking the absence of any directions as to the use of the Psalter or any variable anthems or hymns; the reduction of the number of proper prefaces from ten to five; the omission of all mention by name of angels, saints, and other departed persons in the fixed portion of the service, or of prayers for their intercession; the omission of the use of incense and of moveable lights in the hands of 'ceroferarii'; of the washing of the priest's hands and of various benedictions and crossings, and of the prayers which refer to the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedek, and which petition that the oblations may be carried by God's holy angel, to His altar on high (sublime), in the presence of His Divine Majesty; of the saying of the *Agnus Dei* privately; and of the fraction and commixture of the consecrated elements which was accompanied by a remarkable prayer; of the use of the pax or pax-bred, which was kissed before the Communion; and of the washing of the priest's fingers and of the chalice before the end of the service.

I do not count among the omissions the absence of a reference to the two stationary lights or to the mixed chalice, because the first (though customary) were never mentioned at all in any Sarum rubric, MS. or printed, as far as I know, and the ceremony of the act of mixing the chalice was not mentioned in any Sarum MS. or printed book up to 1500. Their lawfulness or unlawfulness among us has to be

determined mainly on other grounds; nor does the singing of the Agnus or of other hymns at Communion time, or the washing of the vessels after service, appear to me to be touched by this omission, unless all hymns are prohibited, and no necessary action, preparatory to or consequent upon the service, may be done in Church.

Most of the omissions which I have named are so marked that they must be considered to be equivalent to prohibitions, at any rate as regards the prayers to be said by the minister. But it can hardly be supposed that because certain Psalms or Hymns were dropped and not made imperative and necessary, therefore all Psalms and Hymns were to be for ever prohibited. The absurdity of such a conclusion is evident when we observe that it would render it impossible to sing a Psalm or Hymn before the sermon or during the offertory. The use of Psalms and Hymns in the Communion Office, and specially as an Introit and during Communion time, is one of the most primitive customs and has long prescriptive use among ourselves. They may clearly be sung, but at seasonable places and times so as not to interrupt the service.

(2) With regard to *transpositions and alterations*, some of the most noticeable *transpositions* are the removal of the *Gloria in Excelsis* from the beginning to the end of the Office, the separation of the *Lord's Prayer* from the consecration and the placing of the prayer generally called the *Prayer of Oblation* after instead of before Communion. This latter prayer, however, beginning "O Lord and heavenly Father," is not an exact counterpart of anything in the old service-books, but is made up of expressions borrowed from many sources, partly from Holy Scripture, partly from the ancient *Canon*, partly from a prayer said by the priest after the dismissal of the people. It distinctly recognises the Sacrament as a "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," words on which, *e.g.*, Bishop Ridley laid great stress;¹⁵ but it adds to the Commemorative Sacrifice, that which is specially

¹⁵ The phrase "sacrifice of praise" is from *Heb.* xiii. 15 and the second prayer of the Sarum and Roman Canon, "Memento Domine famulorum" "famularumque tuarum N. et N. et omnium circumstantium quorum

fitting to be thought of after Communion, namely, the sacrifice of "ourselves, our souls and bodies," now mystically united with our Saviour.

So also the Lord's Prayer, though we must regret its separation from the Consecration as an unnecessary break with tradition, comes in very aptly as the first expression of our joy and peace after Communion. It follows the principal act of the service, just as it does in the Baptismal Office, the Confirmation Office, the Marriage and Burial Services, &c. The object of the Reformers being to bring out the importance of the act of Communion, which had been almost wholly lost or at any rate entirely thrown into the shade by the prominence given to the idea of sacrifice, they very naturally made this alteration at the time. We may justify it as being always needed as a safeguard against the tendency to make the memorial of Christ independent of the use of the Sacrament. Until we say the Lord's Prayer we feel instinctively we have not finished the principal action.

The *alterations* are many of them minute and difficult to point out in detail; but it must not be thought that the language of the Roman and Sarum Liturgy was very highly coloured, and specially connected with the doctrine of transubstantiation. There are certain doubtful expressions in the Canon or Prayer of Consecration, but much of it, as the Reformers often pointed out, protests tacitly against medieval glosses and errors. The prayer which answers to the Oriental *Invocation* and to that in our own consecration prayer, is really inconsistent with transubstantiation and is open to no objection on the score of doctrine. It runs thus in English :

"This oblation therefore of our service and of that of Thy whole family, we beseech Thee O Lord graciously to accept; and to dispose our days in peace, and to bid us be delivered from eternal damnation, and be numbered among the flock of Thine elect. Through Christ our Lord, Amen.

tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio: pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel qui tibi offerunt, hoc Sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus," &c. See Ridley's *Works*, Parker Soc. pp. 211, 216, 217. and cp. *Seudemore N.E.* p. 771. The Council of Trent condemns those who say that the sacrifice of the mass is "only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," possibly referring to the English Reformers. *Sessio XXII*, Canon III.

“Which oblation, we beseech Thee, O Almighty God, do Thou “in all respects bless, approve, ratify and make reasonable and “acceptable, that it may become to us (nobis . . . fiat) the Body and “Blood of Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ.”

This phrase “become to us” (nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat) reveals the primitive doctrine, of which our Church has taken the other side or converse, expressing identically the same truth, in her Invocation “that we receiving these thy creatures “of bread and wine . . . may be partakers of His most “blessed Body and Blood.” So again, after the words of institution have been recited, to which as we have seen the Roman Church practically attaches all the virtue of the consecration, and with which it connects the change wrought in the elements, the following prayer is offered by the Priest. It is a prayer, we may remark in passing, which recalls the breadth of the memorial of Christ in a manner which we must regret to have lost in our own office (*Unde et memores, &c.*):—

Wherefore, O Lord, we Thy servants, together with all Thy holy people, calling to mind at once the blessed passion of the same Thy Son Christ our Lord, and His Resurrection from the dead, together with His Ascension into Heaven, offer to Thy excellent Majesty of Thine own gifts and bounties a pure, a holy, a spotless sacrifice, the holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of everlasting salvation.

Here the *hostia*, though consecrated, is still called Bread—which is inconsistent with its being Bread only in appearance, as the doctrine of Transubstantiation teaches.

So again in several places the presence of other Communicants and their participation in the chalice is clearly implied and indeed expressed, and so the practices of private masses and of the denial of the cup to all but the celebrant are tacitly condemned.

Thus the difficult prayer, to which we have referred, about the carrying of the gifts by the hands of God’s holy angel to the altar in heaven—a thought going back to the time of St. Irenæus, and possibly a tradition from the school of St. John the seer of the Apocalypse—has the words “that all we (quot-“quot) who by partaking at this altar shall receive the most “sacred Body and Blood of Thy Son, may be fulfilled with “all grace and heavenly benediction.”

So again the "nobis fiat," "that it may become to us," teaches the same truths ; and the prayer of *Commixture* also :—

"Let this most holy union of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to me, and to all who receive it, health of mind and body "and a healthful preparation for attaining unto eternal life."

This is the Sarum prayer ; the Roman is different and is a little shorter, but implies the same thing :—

"Hæc commixtio et consecratio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri, "fiat accipientibus nobis in vitam æternam Amen."

The word "consecratio" here is very remarkable, and suggests that we have here a fragment of another Liturgy incorporated without sufficient reflection (p. 116, n. 58).

(3) The number of actual *additions* is not great, but they are important. They are practically seven in number, excluding the exhortations ; and all of them are valuable and helpful :—

i. The introduction of the *Ten Commandments*, no doubt intended to make the preparation of Communicants more real and to be a sort of safeguard against unworthy reception, when the system of private confession fell into disuse. This is a kind of union of the nine *Kyries*, which were in the old service and that of 1549, with a perpetual lesson from the Old Testament, a tenth being added to sum all together. There seems some likelihood that they were adopted from a Reformed Strasburg Liturgy, though they had been used in this country before the Reformation as a basis of teaching, and recited in Church a certain number of times in the year.¹⁶

ii. The *placing of the Alms on the Holy Table*. This, as I have before said (pp. 85 and 89), was not a primitive custom. In our first Prayer-Book it was ordered that the Communicants themselves should come forward and place their offerings in the poor-men's box, which then, under the Injunctions of Edward VI., was "set and fastened near unto the high altar."¹⁷ In the second book "the Churchwardens or some other by

¹⁶ Cp. Scudamore *N.E.* 225.

¹⁷ *Injunction* 19 in Cardwell *Doc. Annals* i. 18.

them appointed" were to "gather the devotions of the people and put the same into the poor men's box." This was the rule till the last revision, when the present rubric was adopted from the Scotch Liturgy. The custom, though not primitive, is beautiful and expressive, and is Scriptural inasmuch as it follows the rule "To do good and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased" (*Ileb.* xiii. 16).

iii. *The Comfortable Words* appeared first in the *Order* of 1548, and have been used ever since. The idea of them seems to have been taken from Hermann's *Consultation*, in which three out of the four are joined with two others in a list of texts, one of which was to be said between the Confession and Absolution at the beginning of the service.¹⁸ The place in which they appear among us after the absolution and before the *Sursum corda*, is very suitable, and is an extremely beautiful feature of the English office.

iv. *The prayer of humble access*—so called from the title given to it in the Scotch office. This also is a feature first introduced in the *Order* of 1548. It takes the place of a private prayer often said by the priest, as a transition, between the Sanctus and the Canon.¹⁹ It is important theologically as implying the interpretation of the discourses at Capernaum in St. John vi., which I have assumed in our first address (p. 13).

v. *The Fraction in the Institution*. This was not explicitly ordered in our Prayer-Book before 1662, but it is probable that, at least in many churches, it was a traditional usage, dating from long before the Reformation.²⁰ It was one of the additions to the Book of Common Prayer which was made at the last revision by common desire and consent both on the part of Churchmen and Puritans. The Puritans as represented by Baxter said in their *exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer*, "We conceive that the manner of the consecrating of the Elements is not here explicate and distinct enough, and the minister's breaking of the bread is not so much as mentioned" (*Cardwell Conferences* p. 321). It was

¹⁸ Pp. 347 foll. ed. 1548.

¹⁹ Scudamore pp. 535, 544.

²⁰ See Chr. Wordsworth *Historical Notes* p. 8, 1891.

equally desired by Bishop Cosin (*Works* v. 516) as “a needful circumstance before the Sacrament.”

vi. *The Thanksgiving* after Communion. This is a beautiful prayer composed for the first Book of Edward VI., and was the only post-Communion collect given in that book. It is to be regretted that the *or* between it and the previous prayer was not changed to an *and*. A move in this direction has been recommended by both our Convocations in the Report dated 1879. That of York would make the use of both obligatory, while that of Canterbury would permit ‘one or both’ to be used.

vii. *The final Benediction*. Such a blessing had not been usual in the Latin Church before the Reformation. It was, however, an ancient custom in the East, and had probably been so also in the West.²¹ Mr. Scudamore well says, “The ‘post-Communion Blessing of our own Church is at once ‘the grandest and the most calmly solemn extant. The ‘former part of it, which is derived from *Phil.* iv. 7, ‘concluded the *Order of the Communion* put forth in 1548. ‘The second part was added in 1549. It was of very ancient ‘use in the English Church, having been the conclusion of ‘every Episcopal Benediction given between the Lord’s ‘Prayer and the *Agnus* throughout the year. It is probable ‘that these were still employed in England, ‘though they ‘had long been disused in the Church of Rome,’ so that our ‘Reformers were here again retaining a well-known usage of ‘the National Church.’”²²

3. *On the Frequency of the Celebration of the Lord’s Supper, and on the Rules as to Communion.*

When we look into our Prayer-Book, whether in its final revision or in any of the earlier editions, we find no explicit rules as to the number and frequency of the celebrations of the Sacrament. What we do find are rubrical directions regulating the Communion (1) of the Priest; (2) that of the Clergy generally, where they are living together in any

²¹ See Scudamore *N.E.* p. 801.

²² *Ib.* p. 803.

number; (3) that of the Laity. These rules, it will be found, rest upon an assumed rule as to the frequency of the celebration, which is not expressed but clearly understood, and indeed implied in the Collects, Epistles and Gospels which precede. The first it will also be seen is restrictive, the second and third are imperative.

The directions to which I refer are contained in the first rubric of the Office, and in several of those which follow at its close:—

So many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion shall signify their names to the Curate (that is Incumbent or Officiating Minister) at least sometime the day before.

This is the first rubric of the office; the final ones run as follows:—

1. *Upon the Sundays and other Holy-days (if there be no Communion) shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion until the end of the general prayer [For the whole state of Christ's Church militant here on earth] together with one or more of these Collects last before rehearsed, concluding with the Blessing.*

2. *And there shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper except there be a convenient number to communicate with the Priest according to his discretion.*

This number is afterwards defined, in No. 3, as *three at the least.*

4. *And in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches and Colleges, where there are many Priests and Deacons, they shall all receive the Communion with the Priest every Sunday at the least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary.*

8. *And note that every Parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one. &c.*

These rubrics clearly assume that as a general rule there will be a celebration every Sunday or Holy-day, at which the Priest will as a matter of course communicate, and at which every Parishioner (not under sentence of excommunication or guilty of some open sin) has a right to receive the Sacrament, on condition of his sending in his name to the Minister of the Parish on the previous evening. The words *if there be no*

Communion, to communicate with the Priest, shall receive the Communion with the Priest, imply that the Priest is as a matter of course ready and desirous to have a celebration and to communicate himself on those days for which Collects, Epistles, and Gospels are provided, and in the octaves of the great Festivals; but the Church to avoid the abuses of pre-Reformation sole Communion makes it necessary for him to have the company of a certain number of fellow-worshippers and communicants. It also provides that he should be properly prepared by knowing who are going to communicate with him, and that he should not suddenly have to exercise discipline, by meeting with some notorious evil-liver presenting himself to receive without warning. Assuming all this, the Church enjoins a certain rule as to frequency of communion on the part of different classes of persons, besides the Priest, viz., other Clergy and the Laity generally.

Unfortunately the obvious distinction, between the implied rule as to the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and the expressed rule as to the number of communions to be made by individuals, has been too often lost sight of: and I am afraid that if some of our candidates for ordination, and others, were asked what was the rule of the Church as to the number of celebrations, they would reply by giving the rule as to the number of communions to be made.

But a very slight knowledge of the history of the period of the Reformation, and a recollection of previous custom, will enable us to interpret aright these and other rubrics on which habit has put a mistaken gloss—especially if we begin by studying the *Order* of 1548 and the fuller form of 1549.

Up to that date the custom had been for the priest to celebrate and communicate daily, but for the people to communicate only once a year, viz., at Easter, and usually it would seem after or apart from the Mass in which the priest had communicated.²³ Thus the celebration had been almost

²³ See Canon T. F. Simmons *Lay Folks Mass Book* pp. xxviii. and 297, E. E. Text Soc. 1879. The *Book of Ceremonies or Rationale* written in Henry VIIIth reign, between 1539—1543, describes the Mass at length, but without any reference to the act of communion on

wholly divorced from the actual thought of communion on the part of the people.

The practice as far as we can gather was for the priest to consecrate as many of the prepared wafers as he thought would be sufficient for the Communion of the people, and then reserve them in the pyx till after Mass or till a wholly different day. When therefore the Reformers returned to the primitive customs of communion in both kinds, and of ministration in the vulgar tongue, with a view to attract more communicants to the Holy Table, it was natural that they should also introduce a rule about the communion of different classes of the people. Now, as we have said, when the *Communion order* was published in 1548, the priest communicated daily, and therefore a rule that the offer of communion should be made "immediately after the Communion of the priest" (warning having been previously given by him) implied at any rate a possibility of very frequent and indeed of daily communion. This was more distinctly expressed in the rubrics of the first book of Edward VI., which came into force

the part of the people (*Strype Memorials* i. p. 289 ed. fol.). The *Primer* of John Hilsey, Bp. of Rochester, published by Cromwell's authority in 1539, contains an *Instruction of the Manner in hearing of the Mass* which is equally silent (Burton's *Three Primers* Oxf. 1834) and indeed speaks only of "hearing and seeing the blessed sacrifice," p. 406 foll. The *Communion Order* of 1548 has a rubric as follows: "The tyme of the communion shalbe immediatlie after that ye priest himself hath receaved the Sacrament, without the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the masse (until other order shalbe provyded) but as heretofore usuallie the priest hath done with the Sacramente of the body, to prepare, blesse and consecrate so much as wyll serve the people: so it shell yet contynue still after the same maner and fourme, save that he shall blesse and consecrate the byggest Challice," &c. The words "any other rite or ceremony" seem to imply that there was a variation introduced as to the time of communion, and sanctioned by this particular order. The third and fifth articles of the *Devon Rebels* in 1549 run as follows: "We will have the mass in Latin as it was before, and celebrated by the priest, without any man or woman communicating with him." "We will have the Sacrament of the altar but at Easter delivered to the lay-people; and then but in one kind." Though these rebels were ignorant people, they probably represented the custom of the country correctly enough. See Cranmer's *Works*, Parker Soc. 2 pp. 169, 173. See also Canon Chr. Wordsworth, *Historical Notes on the Archbishop's "Judgment"* pp. 13, 14, Longmans, 1891.

on Whitsunday, 9th June, 1549, where mention is made of daily Communion in Cathedrals, and of Communion on Sundays and holydays in Parish Churches.²⁴ These rubrics are discussed at some length by Bishop Beveridge in his *Necessity and Advantage of Frequent Communion* (*Works*, viii. pp. 557 foll.), and I find that he has drawn from them the same conclusions that I have done. It is equally clear from the writings of the Reformers themselves that this was their own mind, and that it was felt to be an innovation by the people, and was met with a great deal of positive reluctance and even opposition. Not only did Calvin insist upon weekly communion *at the least* as the right thing to set before the people,²⁵ but what is much more to the purpose Abp. Cranmer spoke strongly in the same sense in his *answer to the fifteen articles of the Devon Rebels* who had made the following one of their demands:—"We will have the sacrament of the altar but at Easter delivered to the lay-people; and then but in one kind."²⁶

²⁴ "In Cathedral Churches or other places where there is daily Communion it shall be sufficient to read this exhortation above written, once in a month. And in parish churches upon the week days it may be left unsaid.

"And if upon the Sunday or holyday, the people be negligent to come to the Communion: then shall the Priest earnestly exhort his parishioners to dispose themselves to the receiving of the holy communion more diligently," &c.

²⁵ See Calvin *Institutiones* IV. xvii. 44 foll. In 46 he says:—"Sane hæc consuetudo quæ semel quotannis communicare iubet certissimum est diaboli inventum. . . . Longe aliter factum oportuit: singulis ad minimum hebdomadibus proponenda erat Christianorum coctui mensa Domini, declarandæ promissiones, quæ nos in ea spiritualiter pascere: nullus quidem necessitate cogendus, sed cohortandi omnes et stimulandi: obiurgandus etiam ignavorum torpor, omnes gregatim, ut famelici, ad tales lautitias convenirent."

²⁶ The rising began on Whitsun Monday, 1549 (the day after the Prayer-Book became compulsory), and was distinctly in favour of the old service books and ceremonies, the six articles, &c., and against the new. Messrs. Gasquet and Bishop go so far as to say, "the imposition of the book of the new service was only effected through the slaughter of many thousands of Englishmen by the English Government helped by their foreign mercenaries," &c. *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 254, 1890. The slaughter was deeply to be regretted, but the rising was not a mere petition, but an actual armed

Cranmer in his answer says, "What injury do you to many
 "godly persons, which would devoutly receive it many times,
 "and you command the priest to deliver it them but at
 "Easter! All learned men and godly have exhorted Christian
 "people (although they have not commanded them) often to
 "receive the communion. And in the apostles' time the
 "people at Jerusalem received it every day as it appears by
 "the manifest word of the Scripture. And after, they re-
 "ceived it in some places every day; in some places four
 "times in the week; in some three times; some twice; com-
 "monly everywhere at the least once in the week." He
 then goes on to urge that frequent communion is the sign of
 the spirituality of an age and vice versa, and to remind the
 rebels that even the decrees of the ancient councils, which
 they desired to have restored, required the people to commu-
 nicate more than once in the year.

I need not multiply similar passages from such eager
 reformers as Bishops Jewel and Hooper and Dr. Thomas
 Becon. It is even more interesting to find so strong a puritan
 as Thomas Cartwright arguing against private communion of
 the sick on the ground that if they had received it, as they
 ought, once every week, when they were in health, they would
 not be so disquieted during times of sickness. Abp. Whit-
 gift²⁷ naturally replies to this, in defence of the Communion
 of the sick, by saying, "To receive once every week is a thing
 "to be wished. And yet notwithstanding, were not the com-
 "munion to be denied to the sick; for it often cometh to
 "pass, that men through infirmity and sickness are not able
 "to come to the church in whole months and years, whom
 "this weekly communicating could nothing help," &c.

It cannot then be doubted that the rule of the Church
 which has been in the book since the 2nd Prayer-Book of

rebellion, involving the siege of Exeter and bringing the country into
 serious danger. See the details in Fuller's *Church History* book vii.
 pp. 393 foll. ed. 1655. The way it is referred to by Gasquet and Bishop
 is misleading.

²⁷ *Works* Parker Soc. vol. ii. p. 556; cp. Jewel i. pp. 17, 136, 157,
 169; Hooper ii. 129; Becon iii. 381.

1552 "that every Parishioner shall communicate at the least "three times in the year, of which Easter to be one," was a real minimum as regarded individual communion, and not in any sense whatever a guide as to the number of celebrations of the Sacrament. It was the old rule of the Council of Agde,²⁸ in Narbonne, A.D. 506, adapted to English use, viz., that "laymen who did not communicate on the Lord's "Nativity, at Easter and Pentecost, should not be believed "to be Catholics nor reckoned among them." This Canon had been adopted by Abp. Egbriht of York in 740, and substantially re-enacted in later canons or laws of 1009 and 1017, under the form "at least thrice in the year," and again by the Synod of Lambeth in 1378 with a mention of the Feasts which were of obligation. Thus there was good English precedent for the number of times fixed, and it was clearly not realised that an adverse fate would for a time attend the rule, similar to that which had followed the rule of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215 A.D., which enjoined Easter Communion under a penalty. It was no doubt thought that the Communion being offered very frequently would attract at least the few communicants required by the rubric every Sunday and Holy-day. At first it was attempted to lay this duty upon those whose turn it was to offer for the elements in their course, according to the rubric of the Prayer-Book of 1549.²⁹ The result however unfortunately was to make the individual minimum to a great extent a

²⁸ *Conc. Agathense* canon xviii. Bruns 2 p. 150, "Saeculares qui "natale domini, pascha et pentecosten non communicaverint catholici "non credantur nec inter catholicos habeantur." For a large number of other references to early canons see Scudamore *N.E.* pp. 931—936.

²⁹ See the two rubrics at the end of the office beginning "And foras-much as the Pastors and Curates," &c., and "Also that the receiving," which substitute this offering for the elements for the old customary offering of the price of the "holy loaf" or eulogia. The second of these rubrics provides that these people or their substitutes shall be prepared to communicate. The last words, "And the Priest on the "week-day shall forbear to celebrate the Communion, except he have "some that will communicate with him," imply that a Sunday without a celebration was a thing which had never occurred to the minds of those who framed the book.

parochial maximum, at least in many country places, and to reduce the number of celebrations in such places to three or four a year, a result worse than that attained by the Church of Rome before the Reformation, at any rate as regards "the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby."

This was no doubt specially due to the terrible laxity and neglect of the period of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, a laxity which could even permit so pious and learned and, in his way, Churchlike a Presbyterian as Richard Baxter to abstain from administering the Sacrament for eighteen years, though a preacher all the time, and in consequence of which, according to Bishop Patrick, the Sacrament was laid aside in many parishes for nearly twenty years.³⁰

Yet even before that time a monthly communion was rather the ideal practice, as in the Chapel of Bishop Andrews and the Church of the community of Little Gidding. Our own George Herbert speaks of it as the proper thing to aim at, writing in 1632, "Touching the frequency of the Communion the Parson celebrates it, if not duly once a month, yet at least five or six times in the year: as at Easter, Christmas, Whitsuntide, afore and after harvest and the beginning of Lent" (*Country Parson* ch. 22).

We need not therefore be surprised if such an earnest and exemplary Churchman as Dr. George Bull (afterwards Bishop of St. David's), who was Rector of Suddington from 1658—1685, was not able to bring the number of Communions to more than seven in the year, in that small parish—a number which Robert Nelson, his biographer, tells us was oftener than is usual in little villages (*Life* p. 62, ed. 1713).

What the custom of country places was to which Robert Nelson alludes we learn from a charge of Bishop Secker's, to the diocese of Oxford, in 1741, from which it appears that the minimum of personal communions had become in many of them the maximum of parochial celebrations, viz., Christmas,

³⁰ See a large quantity of evidence in Seudamore p. 833.

Easter and Whitsuntide. "One thing," he suggests, "might be done in all your parishes: a Sacrament might easily be interposed in that long interval between Whitsuntide and Christmas. If afterwards you can advance from a quarterly Communion to a monthly, I have no doubt you will."³¹ This was all, you see, that he ventured to urge even in that Diocese, which contained the University and City of Oxford.

Yet no doubt both he and Bishop Bull would have agreed with Bishop Beveridge—who was as nearly as possible Bull's contemporary—in desiring to see the rule of the primitive Church, and that desired by our reformers, restored. Bishop Beveridge writes in his treatise on the *Necessity and Advantage of Frequent Communion*, already cited:—"According to the order and discipline of our Church, if a sufficient number of parishioners, against whom there is no just exception, desire to receive it every Sunday, or every day in the year, the Minister of their parish not only may, but as I humbly conceive is bound to, consecrate and administer it to them: the want of such a number being, as far as I can perceive, the only reason that can ever justify the omission of it." (*Works* viii. p. 567 foll., first printed in 1710).

Hence in the Visitation Articles of his successor in the see of St. Asaph, Bishop Fleetwood, which he tells us were generally the same with those of his honoured predecessor, we find a very excellent question which I myself intend henceforth to adopt. Not only does he ask the ordinary question, "Doth (your minister) administer the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper* so often, that all his Parishioners may Receive at least three times in the year?" but he adds "Is he always ready to administer it when there is a sufficient number of his Parishioners duly prepared and desirous to communicate with him?"³²

It is therefore my plain duty, my brethren of the clergy,

³¹ Bishop Seeker's *Second Charge* as Bishop of Oxford, quoted by Abbey and Overton *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. p. 15, Longmans 1878.

³² *Appendix to Second Report of the Ritual Commission*, p. 666, 1868.

to urge you that you should endeavour as you find opportunity, to sanctify and brighten every Sunday and Holy-day in the year with a celebration of the Lord's Supper, and this not only on the ground of primitive custom, such as we have considered in the third Address (p. 57 foll.), but as carrying out the spirit of the English Reformation. You will be cautious, in making changes, not to advance hastily or rapidly to a position from which you have to beat a retreat. I am thankful to find that, in 506 Parishes from which I have returns, there are already 173 (Wilts 100, Dorset 73) in which the weekly communion is established. The rest, with only 18 exceptions, have a fortnightly or monthly communion. These 18 are mostly quite inconsiderable places such as we have in this Diocese in rather too great numbers for a healthy ministry. But there must be a large number of the 315, which have not yet got beyond monthly or fortnightly communions, in which a weekly communion could well be introduced if the Clergy thoroughly understood their duty and the Laity realised their privileges.

I would say then to the Laity of these Parishes, which make up more than three-fifths of our total number, that it is your part to claim your rights as members of the Catholic Church of Christ in this country; and I feel sure that very few if any of my brethren of the Clergy will feel anything but joy and delight when they hear you advance the request, and "signify your names," according to the rubric, for weekly communion. To the Clergy I would say, in the words of one of our old Prayer-Books, that they should be ready to give communion not only on Sundays, but "as oft as their Parishioners shall be disposed for their spiritual comfort to receive the same" (*Rubric* of 1549). I conceive that if at any time three or more Parishioners desire to communicate we have no right to refuse them provided they give due notice before hand. Speaking to the Laity, I would say, we are your servants for Jesus' sake attending upon the Lord on your behalf for this very thing; and we ought not to feel it strange if called upon, upon a week day, on the occasion of a family or village festival, or even such a simple

domestic event as the going forth of a son or daughter into the world to service outside the Parish, much more on the occasion of a wedding or funeral, or the going out of a party of emigrants, to celebrate the Holy Communion for a few members of our flock. I feel sure that, if this were thoroughly well understood and acted upon, the number of our communicants, and their zeal and devotion too, would very much increase. The Church in Wales, led by such men as Bishop Beveridge, has I believe a better record in this matter than we have.

The weekly celebration will I feel assured be very soon the rule rather than the exception. The occasional celebration in the Church will I hope soon be considered no unnatural or improper thing for even a humble layman or woman to ask for in times of health, just as now they ask it, naturally, in their own homes in times of sickness.

The number of times that individuals should communicate is a different thing, and must depend upon many varying circumstances. I should certainly wish that members of our Diocesan Guild should, as a rule, communicate monthly, and should aim at becoming worthy of weekly communion. But I would urge that a great point should still be made of the Quarterly Communion, and that it should be preceded (as I have previously desired p. 23) by a public preparation and confession of sin. To many people, especially those to whom slow mental processes are habitual, it is quite possible that a Quarterly Communion, well prepared for, may be still the best and most religious discipline of which they are capable.

4. On the Hours of the Celebration, and on the Presence of Non-communicants.

We have considered, in the third address, the reasonable and natural process by which the Holy Communion from being a night service passed, probably about the beginning of the second century A.D., to an hour just before and then just after sunrise (p. 58 foll.) Very soon the fitness of this hour as a matter of devotion and as a help to the spiritual life

became evident to the writers and thinkers of the Church. The earliest reason given for it is that of St. Cyprian, who is meeting the difficulty which some felt about drinking wine early in the morning. "It is said by objectors that the Lord offered the mixed cup not in the morning but after supper? Ought we therefore to celebrate the Lord's sacrifice (dominicum) after supper, so as to offer the mixed cup at our repeated celebrations of the Lord's Sacrifice (frequentandis dominicis)? It was right that Christ should offer about eventide, that by the very hour of His sacrifice He might show the sunset and the evening of the world. . . . But we celebrate the Resurrection of the Lord in "the morning." (*Ep.* 63, 16).

This reason is still one of the best that can be given to remind us that it is a risen, a living, and life-giving, and not a dead or dying Christ that we go to meet, that we should be like the holy women eager to give the first fruits of the day to God, and go forth with joy to hail His presence early in the morning. Two other reasons have from time to time been added: the first that the communicant is then in the fittest state of preparation, with mind untroubled by worldly business or pleasure, with intellect clear and feelings keen and fresh, and with the body prepared by sleep and abstinence from food to be under the control of the mind. The second is closely akin to the first, and really hardly separable from it, that thereby we show greater honour to the sacramental food by taking it before all other, just as we put the business of religion in the forefront of the holy day.⁸³

All three are good reasons for an *early* celebration, and to them we may add, in favour of reception fasting, that the body is thus made to take its part in the preparation in which the soul has confessed its sinfulness and unworthiness. We approach the Lord's table as penitents, as having, by our misuse, lost the full right to the enjoyment of God's creatures. But I deprecate too great scrupulousness and severity,

⁸³ Canon Luckock *The Divine Liturgy* pp. 19 foll. rather presses the difference, but I think with hardly sufficient cause.

of which indeed (you will pardon me for saying it) we see but little signs about us. I have already ventured to give a counsel to the Clergy on the subject in my address to the Synod of November, 1888, which is in your hands, and I need not repeat it now.³¹ The same counsel may well be extended to the Laity.

What then shall we say as to the practice of evening communions? I do not think that I can do better than to incorporate our Archbishop's judgment on the subject, in which he places it in the same category as the other custom, which has grown up in a certain portion of the Church, of attendance without communicating. As far as we Clergy are concerned it is imprudent in us to recommend or introduce either. They are dangerous expedients to draw men to the memorial of Christ, not justified by a partial and seeming temporary success.

"I cannot hold that attending at the Eucharist without receiving it tends to increase reverence. I can place this in no other category than that of Evening Communion. Both tend to familiarity along with diminishing responsibility. Both belong in their origin to weak ages of the Church. The one dates from times when the dreadful

³¹ "With regard to the Holy Communion, I cannot advise the Clergy always as a matter of duty to receive it fasting. The reasonableness of fasting Communion is, first, that it reminds us that we approach the Lord's Table as penitents, as those who have in some degree forfeited the right to the good things of this life, and come to ask pardon at the foot of the cross; and, secondly, that we thereby show our intention to offer our bodies, as well as our souls, a living sacrifice to God. All here will remember Jeremy Taylor's words in his *Holy Living* (chap. iv., sec. 10, 9, p. 349, ed. Parker, Oxford, 1857), "Let us receive the consecrated elements with all devotion and humility of body and spirit; and do this honour to it, that it be the first food we eat and the first beverage we drink that day, unless it be in case of sickness or other great necessity; and that your body and soul both be prepared to its reception with abstinence from secular pleasures, that you may better have attended fastings and prayers." When it is an early celebration at 8 or 8.30 or 9 o'clock we should naturally wish to follow this rule. But I doubt very much whether a clergyman, whose duty may be to take Sunday school at 10 and church at 11, followed by a celebration, with a sermon, lasting up till one o'clock, can adequately perform all these duties, together with those of the afternoon and evening, if he is fasting till one o'clock. I recommend abstinence from meat and all pleasant food, and just a sufficiency to enable the work to be done." (*Salisbury Diocesan Gazette*, vol. i., pp. 143 foll. 1888.)

“habits of half-converted hordes, which accepted the cross as a necessity or as a charm, made sincere Christian priests shrink from urging actual participation amid lives of unredeemed excess. The other belongs to the milder time which is timorous of urging the least touch of discipline, even if it be but the discipline of early rising, and which gives, when the day is over, that which should have consecrated the Lord’s own day and the new week from His resurrection hour. Half the Christian Era is against the first indulgence; the whole of it is against the second. Further, I ask, can there be much doubt of the shape and turn which might at last be given to the Communion after Evensong, if it should become more general? It would be the reversal of every aim of those who seek to bring it in. Its natural heir, if that other practice of non-communion also became general, would be the *Benediction Service*, the element-worship, of the Church of Rome.” (*Seven Gifts*, pp. 166 foll. 1885).

I should not, however, like to be supposed to prohibit those who are habitual Communicants from remaining from time to time when they do not feel prepared themselves to communicate, or have communicated earlier in the day. Nor can it be said that either at the Reformation (except for a few months), or at any time since, was it thought wise to force all who may be present to communicate, or to drive away out of the Church those who may be or feel themselves unworthy. This caution against pressing Communion promiscuously on the people appears very plainly in Archbishop Hermann’s *Consultation*,³⁵ the influence of which on the English office is well known, and in Cranmer’s answer to the third Article of the Devon rebels. He says in this reply, “Although I would exhort every good Christian man often to receive the Holy Communion, yet I do not recite all these things to the intent, that I would in this corrupt world where men live so ungodly as they do, that the old canons should be restored again, which command every man present to receive the Communion with the priest: which canons, if they were now used, I fear that many would receive it unworthily.” (*Works P.S.* ii. p. 172). Cranmer and Hermann clearly

³⁵ He advises not “to trouble any man with untimely rigorousness,” but “howsoever the rest be handled in the Congregation at this time, they nevertheless that shall be admitted to the Communion, as soon as they have made their oblation, must go together to that place, that shall be appointed unto them nigh the Altar.” Ed. 1548, p. 361.

supposed that others would be present besides communicants according to previous custom.

It was no doubt under the influence of these feelings that an Exhortation was introduced in the *Order* of 1548, suggesting to notorious sinners not to communicate, and a rubric was added (for the first and only time in the history of the Reformed Prayer Book), bidding the priest "pause awhile to "see if any man will withdraw himself." But this, we may readily suppose, was soon found to be an unpractical and inconvenient measure, since no one was likely to accept the position of being such a notorious sinner; and in the Prayer-Books that followed in 1549, 1552, 1559, and 1604, although the general sense of the exhortation was retained in the sentence beginning, "Therefore if any here be a blasphemer," &c., no direction was given to make the pause for withdrawal, and the pause was probably not made.

In 1662 a further change was made, and this sentence, including the reference to Judas, was transferred from the Exhortation at Communion time to the Exhortation at the time of giving previous warning of Communion. Probably in 1662, after the break of the Civil War and Commonwealth, not only had celebrations become much rarer, but all who attended on those occasions were communicants—as we should judge, amongst other things, by the great size of the chalices of that date. There was therefore little necessity to suggest to anyone that he should not receive, much less that he should withdraw.

It must therefore be admitted that there is no command or even suggestion to any of the congregation to withdraw in our present book, nor is there a convenient place for it. Certainly they ought not to go out before the prayer for the Church Militant, as that is to be said in their presence on days when there is no Communion. And it does not seem a fit place for them to go out after that Prayer, when the more sacred part of the rite has begun. Yet this is what is customary among us; and where the custom is deeply rooted, I should not advise you to set yourselves obstinately against it. Let the pause, if it be necessary to make it, be accom-

panied either by silence or by very soft music, not a stirring march to excite a desire to be in motion, but a gentle pensive interlude, encouraging to rest and meditation. If possible, bring the communicants up, according to the old rubrics, into or near to the chancel, that all the movement may not be in one direction, but that the instinct of following may draw the timid and the weak along with the strong and the determined. Teach those who withdraw, especially the children, to do so very solemnly and reverently, and the elder ones sadly. Especially let all the officers of the Church, the Churchwardens and Choir, be very careful not to make any display of withdrawing. It may be a very desirable thing that those of them who intend to communicate should come and kneel at the altar rails, as without doubt the rubrics suppose some of the congregation to do.

For my own part, I much prefer that, where there is a Communion after the Morning Prayer and Litany, the break should be made before the Communion Office begins, and should be signified by the tolling of the bell for a few minutes, as is now done in the Cathedral. The sermon may either be after the Litany, or it may be in the Communion Office itself, an address to the faithful there assembled, from the chancel step perhaps, which would often be a delightful opportunity of speaking heart to heart, and with a different accent of sympathy and insight from what it is possible always to adopt towards a mixed congregation.

5. *On the Private Preparation for the Celebration and Communion.*

The communicants, as we have seen, are required by the rubric to give in their names overnight, probably as a matter of discipline; and, though this is now rarely done, it is a custom which, if it were voluntarily revived, would be of great advantage both to clergy and people. It would enable the clergy to meet their flocks with greater joy and to minister to them with greater fervour, and to intercede for them with greater definiteness, if, for instance, they could lay upon the holy table a list of those who had "signified their names."

This was no doubt intended that they should have either before them or in their memory, when they were bidden to pray for "this congregation here present," just as in the old service-books space was left for the names of those who had offered the bread and wine for the communion, or who had made a special request to the priest for his intercession.³⁶ Such a signification of names on the part of the laity would also lead them to a more earnest and determined preparation, and when once it became habitual it would lessen the shyness which now often at the last moment turns back many of our young people from Communion. The mere fact that this friend and that relation had sent in their names would encourage waverers.

I have spoken already several times of public parochial preparation (pp. 23, 127). I need not I hope say much of the private preparation of self-examination, to which all the manuals in use give helps of various degrees of practical value. We have paid attention to this subject in our *Diocesan Guild Manual* to which I must refer you for details, only explaining, firstly, that it is necessary to be very careful to keep a tender conscience as to shortcomings, sins of neglect and omission, as well as positive offences; and secondly that self-examination as to God's mercies and our own indebtedness in the way of thanksgiving and praise is as much a part of this great duty as self-examination as to sin. No doubt the duty of loving God—"to worship Him, to give Him thanks and to put my whole trust to Him"—as the Catechism teaches us, is somewhere or other touched upon in all manuals; but it should occupy a much greater space in them than it usually does.

The clergy should also instruct their people to make use

³⁶ See Maskell *Ancient Liturgy* pp. 122 foll. ed. 3, 1882, and Thalhoffer *Kath. Lit.* ii. p. 204. The prayer ran in the Sarum use "Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum N. et N. et omnium circumstantium quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio; pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel qui tibi offerunt, hoc sacrificium laudis pro se, suisque omnibus," &c. The diptychs containing names of saints, benefactors, great persons connected with the Church, &c., were here also recited in ancient times. See below p. 178.

of what we generally call the ante-Communion service as a time of preparation for Communion, whether they are going to communicate the same day or not. The commandments broadly and spiritually interpreted make an excellent outline for self-examination, and this use of them should be taught to children when they are instructed in their Catechism; so that for instance when they hear the commandment *thou shalt not steal* they may think of all kinds of dishonesty—waste of time and money and unfaithfulness to the stewardship of life—as well as of actual “picking and stealing.”

6. *The Preparation of the Elements.*

I need not I feel sure urge my brethren of the clergy to be very reverent in their own preparation of the elements, and not willingly to let this preparation pass into other hands, and certainly not into careless ones. It is very desirable to train up some thoroughly trustworthy person, the parish clerk or the schoolmaster, or it may be one of the churchwardens or sidesmen, if willing, to act as sacristan, that is as an assistant in this preparation and as deputy in absence. ‘Sacristan’ is only another way of writing and pronouncing ‘sexton,’ and the ‘sexton’ might often do more as a church officer if he were reminded of the meaning of his name.

If a mixed chalice is used, as I find to be the case in 180 Churches and Chapels in the Diocese (out of 596), it should be mixed either in the vestry or at the credence table, but as we have said (p. 88) before the service begins. In this case the chalice should not be put upon the holy table until the offertory, when it may either be brought in from the vestry or brought or taken from the credence after the bread has been presented. The custom of placing the (empty) chalice upon the holy table before the service begins is simply the custom of what was called ‘low-mass,’ which is not really the best precedent for us to follow. It is much better to follow in this and some other matters the custom of the more solemn service in the pre-Reformation Church, which retained more of the primitive practice than the so-called low-mass.

The objection may be made, “What is to be done if we

have made a miscalculation as to the number of communicants?" I can only say, put what amount of wine will *certainly* be required into the chalice before the beginning of the service, adding a certain amount of water; not more than half the amount of wine seems to be the old rule. Then if you find that more is wanted it can easily be added before consecration, either at the offertory or later.

The English ritual lays greater stress upon the "breaking of bread" than the older offices did. In fact it is the only one which has the order for a fraction at the time of the recital of our Lord's acts and words of Institution. It is therefore necessary that either the whole mass of bread should be capable of being broken, or that one piece of it should be of larger size than the rest. The practice of presenting a number of totally severed fragments or squares of bread, or a number of small wafers or cakes, seems also less suitable and symbolical than that, which we use for instance in the Cathedral, of presenting squares of bread, half severed, by cross cuts, into 25 or 36 lesser squares. To prepare this should be one of the duties of the minister and his sacristan. This is better probably done at home than in the vestry.

7. *On the parts into which the Service is divided, with suggestions as to its meaning and the method of performing it.*

(1) *On the Division of the Service.*

The service is divided into two principal parts:—I. *The preparation for the Sacrament*, and II. *The consecration and administration of the Sacrament*, or to use technical language the *Pro-Anaphora* and the *Anaphora*. The first reaches up to the end of the *Comfortable words*, the second begins at the *Sursum corda*.

Each of these again is divided into three sections making six in all:—

I. (1) THE GENERAL PREPARATION, consisting of the Lord's Prayer and Collect for Purity, the Commandments and Kyries, Collects, Epistle and Gospel, Creed and Sermon.

(2) THE OFFERTORY and Prayer for the Church Militant.

(3) THE PREPARATION OF COMMUNICANTS, consisting of the two Exhortations, the Confession, Absolution and Comfortable words.

II. (4) THE CONSECRATION, beginning *Lift up your hearts*, and containing the Ter-Sanctus, the prayer of humble access, and the prayer of Consecration.

(5) THE COMMUNION, first of the clergy and then of the people.

(6) THE THANKSGIVING, consisting of the Lord's prayer and Thanksgiving, the Gloria in Excelsis, and the Peace and Blessing.

In explaining the service to candidates for confirmation it is desirable to make them learn this division by heart.

(2) *On the posture of the celebrant and people at different parts of the Service.*

The Priest or Minister is directed at the beginning of the service to stand *at the North-side of the Table*. I shall not discuss the meaning of this rubric further than to say that I believe it was felt, or rather known, to be ambiguous at the last revision, but that those engaged in the revision could not come to a conclusion which would be satisfactory to all parties, and so left it in statu quo, for usage to interpret, as I hope it now has done. It is ambiguous certainly now, considering the present position of the tables, which is universally altar-wise among us. For, if you take the position at the North, you do not stand at the side; if you take your place at the side, you do not stand facing the South. I am well aware of all that can be said as to the equivalence of 'side' and 'end,' but I am not convinced by it. I have, therefore, ever since I was Canon of Rochester, stood to commence the service at the north part of the west side; because I believe this to be the best interpretation by which, under the circumstances of our having to use a 'table-wise' rubric for an 'altar-wise' position of the table, we can conform to the law of the Church.

But I quite agree with what our Archbishop has laid down that the position of the Priest at the north end is a liturgical usage well established by custom,³⁷ as it is dear to many of us by the example of those we have loved and revered both in the history of the Church and in our own experience. It had also a reason of convenience, when the church was long and the view of the holy table was obstructed by the pulpit and reading desk, since it enabled the priest to be seen by some of the congregation. Far be it from me to seem to speak against it. I trust that this matter will soon be felt to be one on which bitterness of feeling is wholly out of place, either on the part of clergy or their congregations, much more of single members of such congregations.

Nevertheless I feel bound to say, as Bishop, that if a place is taken to begin the service in front of the holy table, as is the case in more than half our churches and chapels,³⁸ it should be that which I have described, viz., at or in front of the north-west corner or Gospel side. This seems to me to be the *cy près* or nearest possible interpretation, and therefore to be more correct than a commencement at the Epistle side or in the centre. In the Sarum rite the prefatory matter was said in the centre at the step, and then the Priest began the Introit or Officium at the Epistle side. But this was not universal in England, since the monks of Westminster and the Carthusians began at the Gospel side or north side, and the Carthusians continue to do so to this day.³⁹ The matter is comparatively unimportant, but it is desirable to tend at least towards a common usage, and I trust that I shall not be considered unduly interfering with your liberty if I urge those of you who take an eastward position to begin as I have described. The north part is also the part of greater dignity.

As to the posture of the celebrant afterwards, where the

³⁷ *Read and others versus the Lord Bishop of Lincoln*, Judgment Nov. 21, 1890, p. 36, Macmillans.

³⁸ In 314 | 590 in the first part and 349 | 590 in the second part of the service.

³⁹ See Chr. Wordsworth *Historical Notes*, &c., p. 21 note, quoting Dr. Wickham Legg.

eastward position is taken, it appears to me that the Creed and all that follows should be said in the centre, since the Priest at the Creed is speaking for and with *all* the people.

The 'north-side' rubric is not the only ambiguous or imperfect one. There are occasional uncertainties as to standing, sitting and kneeling, both of clergy and people. The priest is directed to stand at the beginning of the service, and no direction is given to him to do otherwise, except at the Confession and the Prayer of humble access. As the Confession may be said by 'one of the ministers,' that is to say, by another priest or deacon who may be present, it has sometimes been doubted whether the celebrant also should kneel: but it is clear, I think, that he should do so. For the next rubric runs *Then shall the Priest (or the Bishop, being present) stand up and, turning himself to the people, pronounce this Absolution.* He clearly cannot stand up unless he has been kneeling down; so that if these closely connected rubrics are to be construed together all the clergy must kneel, not only the one who says the Confession. There is a similar doubt about the celebrant's posture in communicating. For my own part, I have always been accustomed to kneel and shall continue to do so; but I cannot find fault with anyone who thinks it more ritually correct and primitive to stand. We have seen that this was once the posture of all communicants, and that the standing posture of the priest is a survival of this ancient custom. On the other hand, it appears to me more quiet and solemn to continue kneeling until the time comes to administer to the people. Nor do I think that we can so well teach our people the value of this reverent posture unless we set them an example in our own persons. It is noticeable that Bishop Andrewes in his Visitation Articles (1625) required the minister to kneel as well as the people, and so did several others: Bishop Cosin, at one time at least, desired to alter the rubric so as to make it clear that the priest was to kneel.⁴⁰

At the *Epistle* it is customary for the people to sit, though

⁴⁰ See for Bishop Andrewes 2nd *Report of Ritual Commission*, p. 497; cp. Scudamore *N.E.* p. 696, and Cosin's *Works*, v. 517.

it is not prescribed. But this was the ancient use apparently for both clergy and people before the Reformation,⁴¹ and should be continued. The *Gospel* is according to the rubric to be heard standing. There is a doubt as to the *Gloria in Excelsis*. When it was said at the beginning of the service, as in the Latin Liturgy and in 1549, the people probably stood, and so they commonly do now or till lately used to do. Either posture seems allowable—one on the ground of custom, the other on the ground of following the rubric. For the rubric, no doubt, supposes them to continue kneeling after reception and to receive the Blessing, though it is not distinctly ordered.

The *Epistle* is by custom read at or in front of the south-west corner of the Holy Table, and towards the people, and by any of the ministering clergy, not only by the celebrant. All three usages are taken from previous custom, and are not clearly defined by the rubric. The rubric relating to the Collect bids the priest “stand as before,” *i.e.*, at the beginning of the service, and therefore *not* with his face to the people, and still at the North side. That for the Epistle merely says, *Immediately after the Collect the Priest shall read the Epistle, saying, &c.* If we had not custom to interpret this rule, we might construe it as a prohibition to a deacon or second priest to read the Epistle, or to read the Epistle or Gospel towards the people, or to read the Epistle at the south side.

The *Gospel* is also read by custom towards the people, but at the north-west corner. The Gospel may, like the Epistle, be read by a deacon, and, as you will remember, each of them in his ordination receives special authority to read it “in the Church of God,” and one is selected to do so immediately afterwards.

There seems no reason why in some of our long churches the Epistle and Gospel should not be read from the chancel step or lectern, or even from the pulpit, provided it is really expedient so to do. In old days they were constantly read from the same ambo or pulpit, but the Epistle from a lower,

⁴¹ See the Sarum Rubric for the Clergy, ed. Dickinson, p. 586.

the Gospel from a higher step. On this account, where there are several steps in front of the Holy Table, it is customary for the Epistoler to stand lower than the Gospeller. But these are matters of slight moment. In old days, when the men and women were on different sides of the Church, the Gospel was read specially to one and the Epistle to the other, but differently at different dates. Now they should be read facing the mass of the people.

(3) *Notes on the meaning of different parts of the service and on the method of performing it.*

I. 1. THE GENERAL PREPARATION.

There is no break in the preparation service, nor is there any authority for omitting part of it, such as the *Ten Commandments* and the *Kyries*. To do so is a distinct loss, since they form a fit subject for personal self-examination and confession in regard to different Christian duties. I trust that you, my brethren, will set a good example by trying to make the whole conduct of the service full of meaning, both to yourselves and your flocks. I can hardly suppose that any one of you could omit the *Collect*, *Epistle*, and *Gospel*, yet I believe it is occasionally done in some Dioceses at early celebrations or week-day celebrations. It is all the more needful to insist on these things, since the practice of more frequent Communion, now happily common, is not always accompanied by, or even compatible with, the same careful and extended preparation and meditation on Holy Scripture which was usual a generation or two back. We want these elements in our service more than ever.

The *Lord's Prayer* and the *Collect for Purity* are, as I have said, a sort of preface to the service, the more sacramental and public part of which begins with the *Let us pray* before the Collects. It is for this reason that the first *Lord's Prayer* is generally, and perhaps always, said by the priest alone. The general rubric at the beginning of the *Lord's Prayer*, in the Morning Prayer, might, indeed, if strictly interpreted, be supposed to command repetition aloud by the people, since the expression, "wheresoever else it is used in

Divine Service," is of the most general character. Mr. Scudamore holds that this applies to the present case. But it does not seem worth while to disturb the prevailing custom.

The Lord's Prayer that follows the Communion is the Lord's Prayer of the service, and there is only one in other Liturgies. This is a good reason for treating our first Lord's Prayer as preparation.

The *Collects* were originally the prayers said while the people were collecting or gathering together in preparation for the procession to the church where the 'station' of the day was to be held.⁴² "Collecta," as a substantive, is a doublet of 'Collectio,' just as 'Missa' is of 'Missio'—one signifying at first the beginning, the other the end of the service—but both have gradually enlarged their meaning. Collect has come to mean any prayer complete in itself, as opposed to a Litany, not necessarily a short one; just as Missa or Mass has come to mean a service, or a prayer or series of prayers. The word Collect is not generally found in the modern Latin Service Books, but 'Oratio' is used instead, as it was generally in the Sarum books. It is curious that 'Collecta' appears only in the York use in the parallel rubric. It must, however, have been a term in common employment, being found in the *Book of Ceremonies*, written just before the Reformation,⁴³ and it is used occasionally in other Sarum rubrics.

In the old English uses, several collects were said in series of three, five, or seven. One of these no doubt was often a collect for the Sovereign. We cannot suppose that it was so always in England, though a Scotch Council ordered it together with one for the peace of the Church, and Abp. Islep in 1359 issued a mandate "de exorando pro rege."⁴⁴

⁴² Cf. Innocent III. *de sacro alt. Myst.* ii. 27, P. L. 217, col. 814, "Orationes quae circa principium missæ dicuntur collectæ vocantur (he then gives the popular reason) . . . Proprie tamen collectæ dicuntur, quæ super collectam populi fiunt, dum colligitur populus, ut ad stationem faciendam, de una ecclesia procedant ad alteram."

⁴³ Ap. Strype *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 421, ed. 1822, and see above, p. 149 note and Appendix I.

⁴⁴ *Concil. Scoticanum* A.D. 1225 canon 70, Wilkins *Conc.* i. p. 617.

The Collect for the day follows that for the Sovereign, and is itself followed by any memorial that may belong to the season or to the festival in the octave of which it falls. If it is desired always to say three Collects, one of the six which are appended to the office, may of course be used, as it may also be used in Morning or Evening Prayer, or in the Litany. One very easy method of Liturgical enrichment would be to add collects to the present appendix for various persons and occasions, but until this is done I see no reasonable objection to the use in this place (under special authority and on special occasions) of any of the collects of the Prayer-Book, including those supplementary to the Morning and Evening Prayer and those in the occasional offices. The Church of Ireland has set a good example of adding two to our six, one a commemoration of the departed, adapted from the Burial Service, and the other for the Clergy, from the Ordination Service. The collect *O Almighty Lord and Everlasting God* which is from the "Order of Confirmation" will naturally be used at the first Communion of those who have been lately confirmed.

In giving out the *Epistle* or *Gospel* we are ordered to say '*The Epistle is written,*' '*The holy Gospel is written.*' We often hear, '*The Epistle is taken,*' &c., but this is wrong. The phrases are not identical. '*Taken*' would simply refer to Church authority. '*Written*' reminds us that it is inspired Scripture we are about to hear.

Before the Gospel it is customary to say *Glory be to Thee, O Lord*. This was not in the rubrics of any of our Sarum books, though it was inserted in the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI., and no doubt has been a custom from time immemorial. The response after the Gospel, *Thanks be to Thee, O Lord*, or *Thanks be to Thee, O Lord, for this thy*

The collect there mentioned begins with the words "Deus in cuius manu corda sunt regum." It is undoubtedly the same as that which appears among the "memoriae communes" of the Sarum Missal p. 828* ed. Dickinson:—"Deus in cuius manu sunt corda regum, qui es humilium consolator, et fidelium fortitudo, et protector in te sperantium; da regi nostro N. et reginæ nostræ N. populoque Christiano triumphum virtutis tuæ scienter excolere; ut per te semper reparentur ad veniam. Per Dominum." For Islep see Wilkins iii., p. 42 foll. and Johnson's *English Canons*, p. 417 foll. A. C. L. Oxford, 1851.

holy Gospel (as we hear it often in the North of England) does not seem to have so long a prescription, but it has a sufficiently long one, and something of the kind is wanted to separate the Gospel from the Creed. *Praise be to thee, O Christ*, the Roman response, does not seem to have been in use in England. In the Scotch office the Presbyter is directed to say after the Gospel *So endeth the holy Gospel*, and the people to answer *Thanks be to Thee, O Lord*. The words *So endeth the Gospel* are not however found elsewhere, and they were probably avoided in order to suggest the connection between the Gospel and the sermon which followed. The Creed as we have already implied (p. 52) was not used in this place in the Western Church so early as in the Eastern, and is by no means universally said in the Latin service now. We should remember in saying it that it is the only part of the service in which the word "*I*" is used. Faith must be a personal thing. No other man's or woman's faith, however much it may help us, can justify and save us. Hence here and in the Apostles' Creed we are taught to say, all together, *I believe in God*.⁴⁵

The greater part of this Creed down to the first words of the third part (*the Holy Ghost*) was drawn up by the 318 Bishops assembled at Nice or Nicæa, near Constantinople, at the first General Council, held in the year A.D. 325 by the authority of Constantine the Great, the first Christian Emperor. The remainder of the third part (*the Lord and Giver of Life, &c.*) was added at the second General Council held at Constantinople in 381, and both Creeds were ratified at Chalcedon in 451, at the Fourth General Council. The words *God of God, &c.*, mean God born *from* or *out of* God. The words, *Being of one substance with the Father*, are of extreme importance, as showing the reality of and completeness of Our Lord's Godhead. They are the test words against Arianism, a heresy always ready to

⁴⁵ *We believe* is found in the Acts of the Councils, but the Liturgies called after St. Mark and St. James, and those of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom read *I believe*. *We believe* is introduced into the Scotch Εὐχολόγιον, but does not seem to be an improvement.

rear its head again. The words in the third part, *The Lord and giver of life* do not mean the *Lord of life* and the *Giver of life*, but the *Lord Jehovah*, one of the three persons of the Trinity, cp. 2 *Cor.* iii. 17, "Now the Lord is that [*or the*] Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." The words *and from the Son*, were added at the provincial Spanish Council of Toledo, A.D. 589, and did not come into regular and general use in the Western Church till the 11th century. It is to be regretted that this addition to the Creed was made irregularly and without general consent.⁴⁶ The words have never been received by the Eastern (Greek and Russian) Church, but their truth is implied by St. Paul and St. Peter, who speak of the Holy Spirit as "the Spirit of Christ" (*Rom.* viii. 9; 1 *Peter* i. 11), and as "the Spirit of His (*i.e.* God's) Son" (*Gal.* iv. 6). The use of the Creed should remind us that the Communion is founded on a unity in faith and in the truth, as well as in hope and love, and that we have not only to examine ourselves as to keeping the

⁴⁶ The nearest approach to a re-union of the Eastern and Western Churches on this subject was made at the Bonn Conference of 1875, held under the presidency of Dr. von Döllinger. See the *Report on the Resolutions of the Bonn Conference* by the Committee of the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation, presented May 9, 1876, in Chronicle of Convocation, and *Reunion Conf. at Bonn*, 1878, ed. H. P. Liddon, p. 103 foll. This Conference accepted the teaching of St. John of Damascus as its basis, and formulated it as follows:—

1. The Holy Ghost issues out of the Father as the Beginning, the Cause, the Source of the Godhead.

2. The Holy Ghost does not issue out of the Son, because there is in the Godhead but one Beginning, one Cause, through which all that is in the Godhead is produced.

3. The Holy Ghost issues out of the Father through the Son.

4. The Holy Ghost is the image of the Son, who is the image of the Father, issuing out of the Father and resting in the Son as His revealing power.

5. The Holy Ghost is the personal production out of the Father belonging to the Son, but not out of the Son, because He is the Spirit of the mouth of God declarative of the Word.

6. The Holy Ghost forms the link between the Father and the Son, and is linked to the Father by the Son.

The definition of the Council of Lyons A.D. 1274 was "Fideli et devota professione fatemur quod Spiritus sanctus æternaliter ex Patre et Filio, non tanquam ex duobus principiis, sed tanquam ex uno, non duabus spirationibus sed unica spiratione procedit."

Commandments, but also “Whether we be in the faith” (2 *Cor.* xiii. 5), and to remember that it is part of our warfare “earnestly to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints” (*Jude* iii.), which faith is summed up in the Creed.

The Creed is translated from the Latin version in use before the Reformation with slight exceptions. The words *I believe* are added before the article of the Church in the third part, and the word *holy* is omitted in the description of the *one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church*, but whether from accident or design it is not quite certain. The design could not, of course, have been to suggest that holiness was not a mark of the Church, which is a preposterous idea in itself, and is particularly inadmissible, since the word is in the Apostles’ Creed. But it may have been a piece of critical revision, since the word is not found in some at least of the ancient copies of the translation of the acts of Chalcedon, and perhaps all of the acts of the third Council of Toledo.⁴⁷

After the Creed notice should be given of Holy-days, &c. The rubric should continue, *And then also (if occasion be) shall notice be given of the Communion, and Banns of Matrimony published: and Briefs Citations and Excommunications read, &c.*; but the words *and Banns of Matrimony published* have been omitted without authority by the printers since 1805, in order to bring it into supposed agreement with an Act of Parliament, 26 George II., which provides for the publication of Banns during Evening Service, after the Second Lesson, in cases where there is no Morning Service. The Rubric before the Marriage Service has also been altered

⁴⁷ See Scudamore p. 284 and a fuller article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for July, 1879, *The Anglican Version of the Nicene Creed*, vol. viii. pp. 372—383. This article points out the books which might have been used by the Reformers, and observes that in 1552 the clause *whose kingdom shall have no end* was added to the English version, having been omitted in 1549 as not being in the Nicene Creed proper. For the versions of the Creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople accepted by the IIIrd Council of Toledo A.D. 589 see Labb. *Conc.* v. 1000. The latter contains the phrase ‘*ex patre et filio procedentem.*’ It is remarkable that our Reformers inserted the *filioque* also in the Litany: see *C.Q.R.* p. 382 for other possible traces of the influence of the Toledo form.

without authority; but the omission of the 'comma' after *Evening Service* would bring it into agreement with the Act.

2. THE OFFERTORY. The peculiarity of the Anglican rite is, as we have seen, that it contains a presentation of the alms as well as of the elements, made by the minister before the *General Prayer*, which we usually call the *Prayer for the Church Militant* (see p. 81 foll.) This presentation has gradually grown up. At first, as we have seen (p. 145), the offerings were placed by the people themselves in the poor men's box. In 1552 the Churchwardens or their deputies were directed to gather the devotion of the people and put it into the box, and mention of the alms was made in the prayer. Finally in 1662 the *Deacons, Churchwardens or other fit person* were directed to receive *the Alms for the poor and other devotions of the people, in a decent bason . . . and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the Holy Table*. This direction was adopted from the Scotch Liturgy, and is a valuable feature of our service, seeing that it most strongly reminds us of the duty to consecrate our life and all our wealth to God. I may remark that the rubric implies that there is an offertory of alms and other devotions every Sunday, for the question of there being a Communion or not is not raised until the presentation of the alms is provided for.

Then follows the placing of the bread and wine upon the Holy Table, which certainly ought not to be done sooner, nor, strictly speaking, ought the chalice to be placed upon the Holy Table until this point in the service. Convenience, as in the Roman Low-Mass, has made it almost universal to place the empty chalice on the holy Table at the commencement of the office—but this is less correct than the practice of bringing it at the offertory. As I have said, if a mixed chalice is used, it should now be taken from the credence or brought in from the vestry (p. 164). The rule ordering the presentation of the Elements was in the book of 1549. It was omitted in 1552 and restored in 1662, when the verbal oblation was added. That the words in our Prayer-Book *to accept our alms and oblations* refer both to the alms and to the

Elements is clear from a comparison of the previous books, which simply had to *accept our alms*. The addition of the words *and oblations* was clearly consequent on the coincident direction then given for the first time since 1549 for the priest to *place upon the Table so much Bread and Wine as he shall think sufficient*. If *oblations* had stood alone it would have covered both. All *alms* are also *oblations*; but there are some *oblations*, like the bread and wine and the offerings at a harvest festival, &c., which are not *alms*.⁴⁸ I have already spoken at length (pp. 27—32) of the meaning we may fitly attach to these outward signs, as a consecration of nature, as a consecration of human life in its different aspects, and as connected with ancient sacrifice. It is well to bring before God these thoughts in a practical manner by thinking of our own daily lives, in all their simple detail, at this point in the service, when there is generally a little time to spare.

I may also remind you of what has been said of the use of intercessory prayers for the conversion of Israel, and the extension of Christ's kingdom, before the general prayer for the Church (pp. 70, 74).

Before actually saying the prayer, the minister may mention the names of any for whom prayers are specially desired, as we do in the Cathedral:—*Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth*; adding *Your prayers are specially desired for N. and N.*—mentioning the cause, sickness, or bereavement, or a dangerous journey, &c. When such prayers are asked, a slight pause may be made (in reading the prayer that follows) after *adversity*. If the minister has received the names of those who have signified their intention to communicate, as I hope will to a certain extent, especially on week-days, become the custom, he should lay them open before him on the holy table with the names of the sick—as Hezekiah laid the letter of Sennacherib before the Lord. It would also be well to have a parochial or Church kalendar,

⁴⁸ See an excellent argument on this point, which has been a good deal controverted, by Canon T. F. Simmons in reply to Dean Howson in the *Churchman* for June, 1882 headed *Alms and Oblations*. He argues, I think conclusively, that *oblations* is an inclusive word.

with the names of the Founders and Benefactors and former Incumbents of the Church, days of note in its history, &c., &c., to remind him of the causes for thanksgiving for all those who are departed this life in God's faith and fear, as well as for the living. Such "diptychs," as they were called in ancient times, contained not only the names of the departed and of living persons in authority, but also the names of the Four General Councils, and the names of those at whose request the celebration was held. They were at first read aloud by the Deacons before the prayer began. But afterwards this reading became inconvenient and uninteresting—like the recitation of some of the names of Saints in the Roman Canon—and the commemoration became chiefly mental. Each person may and should make his own. But the sick and distressed of a congregation seem to have a right, as I said, to be mentioned aloud before the Prayer, so that all may know their wants. You should be very careful, in asking for such prayers, not to introduce irrelevant or debateable matter, such as may naturally divide the feelings of a congregation.

3. THE PREPARATION OF COMMUNICANTS.

According to the letter of the Prayer-Book, *two exhortations* ought to follow the general prayer, but in practice the first is often omitted. Up to 1662, as we have said, this exhortation contained a "fencing of the table," which has now been transferred to the first of the Exhortations in giving *warning for the celebration of the Holy Communion* (p. 161). At the same time, the *Exhortation to those who neglect Communion* was placed on another Sunday, instead of being used at Communion times. This latter exhortation differed somewhat in its form in 1552 and 1604, but in both books contained words recommending "departure" rather than to "stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate," which were omitted in 1662. No doubt we are to attribute the practice of withdrawal at this point, of which I have spoken, to the effects of this exhortation. But clearly this was not universally considered the place for withdrawal, since Marmaduke

Middleton, Bishop of St. David's, in 1583, enjoined on his Diocese,⁴⁹ "when there is a Communion, that al the people " whiche will not communicate . . . be commaunded to " departe for that tyme out of the Church; after the generall " confession made, in the name of the communicantes, and " if any be so stubborne, that thei will no departe, then the " Minister to procede no further in the Communion, but in " the next consistorie court, complaine of them, as inter- " rupters and troublers of God's divine service." This order, however, seems to stand alone, and could hardly have been carried out.

As regards the two Exhortations now used in the office itself, the first would no doubt be more often read if it were possible to omit or change in any way the words about eating and drinking unworthily and those that follow. But as it is difficult to obtain authority for such a change, it may suffice to use the Exhortation less frequently—say once a quarter. It is so full of excellent doctrine, beautifully worded, that it is a misfortune to lose it altogether, and a few words of explanation would relieve most minds.

These exhortations presuppose that the communicants have now gathered near to the Holy Table. The rubric before the first speaks of them as "being conveniently placed for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament," that is to say, it supposes them to be standing in the chancel or choir of the Church where they have come, according to old custom, to offer their alms and perhaps also their oblations.⁵⁰ The second bids them "draw near with faith" and take the Sacrament, *i.e.*, kneel as near as may be before or round the holy table. In many places I am glad to know that this custom still pre-

⁴⁹ *Second Report of the Ritual Commission*, 1868, p. 426, No. 7.

⁵⁰ The offering of the oblations by the people could hardly have been among us a continuous survival from primitive times, but it is said that it existed in this Diocese in the hamlet of Charlton in the Parish of Donhead St. Mary, Wilts, up to 1638, when an agreement was entered into by the rest of the parish, and confirmed and sealed by Bishop Davenant, 25th May in that year, to supply the bread and wine for Charlton, Combe and Ludwell. Cp. Scudamore p. 352. There is a sort of guild of old men and old women at Milau Cathedral (the 'Vecchioni') for this purpose. I have often thought that it would be

vails, as it did in Westminster Abbey, at the early celebrations when I was a boy.⁵¹ I should be glad to see it carefully preserved and extended. I cannot think that it is right for people to scatter themselves all over the Church, kneeling sometimes almost ostentatiously at the end of the nave.

The words in the shorter exhortation about our being in *love and charity* with our neighbours take the place of the old kiss of peace referred to in St. Paul's Epistles and by St. Peter and described in the earliest accounts of the Sacrament. They specially distinguish those who are communicants from those who are not.

I have spoken already of the present position of the *Confession* and the *Absolution*, and of the value of the *Comfortable Words*, especially as leading us up to *Sursum corda*. We are to hear our Lord's own voice saying *Come unto me*; we are to think of Him as drawing us up to Himself where He is ever interceding as our *Advocate with the Father* and pleading His *propitiation for our sins* once offered.

II. THE CONSECRATION AND COMMUNION.

4. THE CONSECRATION. This begins, as in all ancient Liturgies, with the words *Lift up your hearts*, and the response, followed by the Preface and the *Sanctus, Ter-Sanctus*, or *Triumphal Hymn*. This is sometimes called the *Trisagion*, but that name is given more correctly to the other more recent but still ancient hymn, "Sanctus Deus, Sanctus fortis, Sanctus immortalis, miserere nobis."

The *Sursum corda* and the Hymn in which we join as if we were already members of the Church Triumphant and had escaped from the bondage of the flesh to unite *with angels and archangels and with all the company of heaven*, strike as it were the keynote and interpret for us all that is to follow.

a good thing to shew the connection of the alms and oblations by letting the same Church officers bring up both, as is and has long been done at Brasenose College, Oxford, by two of the Fellows going out (after presenting the alms) into the ante-chapel, and returning with the elements. There can be no objection to such a usage.

⁵¹ See a letter in the London *Guardian* 10 Dec. 1890 p. 1997 b, where a number of instances are quoted.

It is as belonging in hope and assurance to this company that we can most fitly realise the presence of Christ. And if we will remember this exaltation of the Church on earth, for the time, to sit in heavenly places, as at the marriage supper of the Lamb, we shall not perplex ourselves by the mystery of how and when and where Christ's presence comes to us in the Sacrament. He Himself discouraged such questions when the Jews asked Him at Capernaum, "Rabbi, when camest thou hither?" (*John* vi. 25), and "How can this man give us His flesh to eat?" (*ib.* 52). Like His Incarnation, it is the work of the Holy Spirit: for He says, "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh"—*i.e.*, things of sense, space and time, &c., "profiteth nothing."

We shall do well then to put up a prayer to God for this quickening of the Holy Spirit somewhat as follows:—"Vouchsafe, O Lord, so to bless and sanctify with Thy Word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine that they may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son." A prayer of this kind has always been used by the Eastern Churches, and was long in use in the West. It was in our first Prayer-Book (1549), and is in those of the Scottish and American Churches: and is a safeguard against the mistaken idea of a carnal presence.

It is interesting to notice that a similar prayer has been introduced into the Scotch *Εὐχολόγιον*, which is used by Presbyterians, as well as into the Liturgy of M. Bersier, which is used in some of the French Reformed Churches. It also finds a place in the Old Catholic service books of Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. The form in the three last cases is as follows:—"Send us therefore, we humbly pray Thee, Thy Holy Ghost, the giver of all life and all sanctification, and grant that these gifts of the earth may be hallowed to be heavenly, glorious, spiritual oblations; so that the Bread that we break may be the Communion of the Body of the Lord, and the Cup that we bless may be the Communion of the Blood of Jesus Christ." In these five cases the *Invocation* precedes the *Institution* as it does in our Prayer-Book of 1549, and in the first Scotch office of 1637.

But in the present Scotch office of 1764, and in the American, the *Invocation* follows the *Institution* as it does in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom at present in use in the Greek Church (cp. pp. 102, 104). Authorities differ as to the proper place of the *Invocation*. I do not myself feel strongly on the point, but think that it is appropriate in either place.⁵²

We have spoken of the *Prayer of Humble Access* as an addition in the English office made with the Comfortable words in 1548, but partly taken from ancient models. It was no doubt intended amongst other things to emphasise Communion in both kinds which was restored at the Reformation. It refers humbly to the words of the Syro-Phœnician woman to our Lord about the crumbs under the Master's table (*Matt.* xv. 27, *Mark* vii. 28) and to His own discourse in the sixth chapter of *St. John* about eating His flesh (that is His humanity passing through death) and drinking His blood; and reminds us that both are means of grace to us, that the Body is given for the salvation and cleansing of our bodies and the Blood for the washing of our souls. This last thought is probably based on *Leviticus* xvii. 11, "For the life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul"; or as in R.V.—"that maketh atonement by reason of the life." Those who communicate only in one kind say that the whole Christ is in either species, the consecrated bread or the consecrated wine, and that they "take" both the Body and the Blood in the bread. But Christ ordered us both to "eat" and to "drink," not only to "take," His Body and His

⁵² See Archdeacon Freeman *Principles*, vol. ii., pt. 2, pp. vii. and 399, 432, &c.; and the Bishop of St. Andrew's *Charge*, 1862, p. 20 foll. and his recent *Charge*, 1889, p. 9 foll., and his paper on *Structural Arrangement of Communion Offices*, put out in 1890. Archdeacon Freeman insisted on the propriety of the *Invocation* preceding the *Institution*, and Bishop Charles Wordsworth agreed with him, but in his last paper he says:—"The American Church having adopted our present Scotch order, rather than that of the former Scotch and first English, it seems undesirable to attempt to alter it back again, especially as it is supported by Bishop Rattray's authority (see Pref. p. xi. and p. 25, seq.—*Note on St. Cyril*)."

Blood. It is therefore clear that those who communicate only in one kind lose at least some of the grace of the Sacrament. We who have this great blessing of full communion must pray earnestly to use the abundant grace that is given to us, that our souls may be thoroughly cleansed and our hearts warmed and enlivened with the love of Christ, that His heart may flow into our heart and give us a new heart and a new spirit.

After this prayer is ended, the Priest rises and carefully orders the bread and wine for the consecration. This may remind us (as Bishop Beveridge says) "of God's eternal purpose and determinate counsel to offer up His Son as a sacrifice for the sins of the world."⁵³ Then follows the *Prayer of Consecration*, which is said by the Priest alone, but aloud, and is followed by the *Amen* of the people, whose presence and co-operation is recognised throughout in the words "*our* heavenly Father," "*Hear us*," "*Grant that we*," &c. It is said by him alone, for the sake of greater reverence and solemnity, and as representing Him who trod the winepress alone, who is the only means of our salvation, and is now at the right hand of God, our only Mediator and Advocate. But all must say the *Amen* fervently and devoutly, as having their share in the commemoration and representation of Christ's sacrifice which is now specially made. (Compare 1 *Cor.* xiv. 16.)

The consecration prayer consists of three parts (1) the *Introduction*, which calls to mind God's love in the Atonement once made upon the cross, and never to be repeated and our Lord's command to make a perpetual memory of it ; (2) the *Invocation*, calling upon God the Father to hear us and to grant that we, by reception of the bread and wine, may be partakers of our Saviour's body and blood,⁵⁴ and (3) the *Commemoration*, in which the acts and words of our Lord

⁵³ *The Necessity and Advantage of frequent Communion*, Works viii. p. 603.

⁵⁴ In saying the *Invocation* it seems natural to stretch out the arms in blessing what is on the Holy Table, as we usually do at grace before meals. Cp. Eug. Bersier *Liturgie* p. 229.

at the last supper are recited and performed anew before God and man. These acts and words of His, done once for all long ago, were the beginning of all the power that is in the sacrament now and for all time. When He blessed the bread and gave thanks over the cup, and then delivered them with the well-known words, He did not merely sanctify the particular loaf and cup which He then held in His hands, but He gave to bread and wine ever after, when rightly used in commemorating His death, a new power of communicating His strength and His love. Just as at His baptism in the river Jordan He once for all “sanctified water to the mystical washing away of sins,” so at the last supper He once for all sanctified bread and wine for holy communion of His body and blood. We have seen that the Recital of the *Institution* has had too great a stress laid upon it, as if it was an absolutely necessary form (p. 103 foll.) But we cannot but feel that any Liturgy in which it did not now occur would be defective and unsatisfying.

5. THE COMMUNION.—We should warn our people to be careful as they go up to the Holy Table not to be hasty nor yet to linger behind, but to go as much as possible in the order that is convenient to others as well as to themselves. We should teach the young communicants to take care as they kneel down and get up not to disturb those who are on each side of them, and not to rise to return to their places until after their next neighbour has received the cup. We have spoken of the method of receiving (pp. 113 foll.) The kneeling posture was at one time a great matter of controversy and of deep feeling,⁵⁵ as is shown by the “Declaration on kneeling,” still appended to the office. Happily any adverse feeling on this matter has now passed away, and no one can doubt that experience has justified the order of the Church. But it should be kneeling, not prostration. The clergy cannot be expected to stoop in an unseemly way to reach those who may be almost on the ground. On the other hand the Clergy, on their part, must be careful not to introduce

⁵⁵ See for an instance the life of that excellent Irish Churchman, Mr. Bonnell.

even slightly distracting gestures into their administration. For this reason I prefer to deliver the cup quite steadily rather than to make a cross in the air with it. We want our communicants to rest upon the presence of the unseen High Priest, and to lose consciousness of the visible Minister.

6. THE THANKSGIVING.—This begins with the Lord's Prayer said by all together. Now that our Saviour is especially present with us, and has acknowledged us as His brethren, through the Communion that He has given us, we are more than ever bold to say *Our Father*. As "joint heirs with Christ," and kneeling as it were side by side with Him, "we cry, Abba, Father" (*Rom. viii., 15, 17.*) The Lord's Prayer here follows the principal act of the service as in the Services for Baptism, Confirmation, Burial, and others. The first petition, *Hallowed be Thy Name*, is for the conversion of the world, it means "may all men own Thee for their Father and their God;" the second, *Thy Kingdom come*, is for the right government and peace of the world by the submission of all men to Thy rule, first in the Church militant and then in the Church triumphant; the third, *Thy will be done*, is for the sanctification of all men, in heart as well as in act, after the pattern of the life of angels. Then follow petitions for ourselves, for our *daily bread*, especially for our spiritual food; for *forgiveness* on the ground that we are in charity with all men; for preservation against too severe *temptation*, the danger of which we are wise to recognise, even in the highest moments of spiritual exaltation; and for *deliverance* from evil, especially from the snares of the Devil. The Lord's Prayer ends with the Doxology *for Thine is the Kingdom, &c.* (as in the morning and evening service after the Absolution, and in the Thanksgiving of Women) which has been used in the Church ever since the first century.

We may regret that *both* the Thanksgivings that follow are not ordered to be always said, since both are so beautiful. A friend of mine, now an Indian Bishop, once said to me that, after long study of Liturgies, all the change he wished to make in our office was to change *or* into *and* in this place. (See above, p. 147). One Thanksgiving will be read aloud;

we should say the other privately for ourselves. We have spoken of the doctrinal importance of the first (p. 135). It is usually said on Sundays and great Festivals.

The second prayer is more distinctly one of Thanksgiving, and is often used particularly on Saints' Days as it recognises the *holy fellowship* of the faithful in Christ's *mystical body*. This is a specially English prayer first composed in 1549.

The Hymn, *Glory be to God on High*, generally called by its first Latin words the *Gloria in Excelsis*, now follows. It was sung before the Reformation at the beginning of the office before the Collect for the Day. But the necessity of providing an office, part of which might be used without any Communion, made it natural and proper to move it to another position. The Lutheran usage of this and the *Ter-Sanctus* on occasions when there is no Communion is certainly less edifying. (See above pp. 127 and 134). The *Gloria in Excelsis* is the old Greek morning hymn, based upon the Song of the Angels at our Lord's nativity, and is as well fitted to follow the triumphant celebration of Christ's love to man as to go before it. It may remind us of our Lord's words at the Last Supper: "Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in him; if God be glorified in him, God shall also glorify him in himself and shall straightway glorify him. . . . A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." (*John* xiii. 31—35.)

The final Benediction consists of two parts—*The Peace* founded on Phil. iv. 7, and the *Blessing*. The Peace, which is a form peculiar to the English service, may remind us again of the kiss of charity, and should teach us to go forth with an eager desire to do acts of love to our brethren and sisters in Christ. (See above p. 147).

The Reformed Offices as used in France and Geneva end as follows, after the Aaronic blessing:—"Go in peace, remember the poor; and may the God of peace be with you all;" or "with you and your families now and for ever."

APPENDIX I.

ON THE USE OF THE MIXED CHALICE, AND ON THE PLACE AND TIME OF MIXING IT.

This subject has been touched upon on pp. 15 and 25, and more fully 85—88, and 164, and it will not be necessary to repeat what has been there said. Something may, however, be added on

1. *The Jewish use of a mixed cup at meals and festivals.*
2. *The early evidence in the Christian Church.*
3. *The usage in the English Church before the Reformation.*

1. *The Jewish use of a Mixed Cup.*

That our Lord Jesus Christ used a cup of wine mixed with water is the tradition of nearly all Christian Churches and the belief of nearly all theologians. This is not a question which is connected with the possible uncertainty as to the day on which the Lord's Last Supper took place and its relation to the Passover—as the dispute with regard to the use of leavened or unleavened bread undoubtedly is. It was the usual custom of the Jews in the time of our Lord to mingle their wine with water, and therefore in the Tract of the Mishna relating to *Blessings*, or, as we should say, 'Graces at Meat' and similar formulæ, the mixture of the cup is taken for granted. In Chapter 6 of the Tract *Berakhoth* (ed. Surenhusius i. p. 20) the names to be given to certain substances are discussed, and how they are to be appended to the general formula, "Blessed art Thou, Jehovah, "our God, Lord of the World, Who hast created [such and "such a thing]." We are told that for the fruit of trees we are to say "Who hast created the fruit of the tree"—except in the case of wine, when we are to say "Who hast created the fruit of the vine." So also for bread there is a special

blessing, "Who bringest bread out of the earth." The mention of the mixture occurs a little later, ch. 8, § 2. The question referred to is, as usual, one between the disciples of Hillel and those of Shammai, and relates to the order of certain acts at a supper. "The house of Shammai," we are told, "first pour (water) on the hands and then mix the cup : that of Hillel first mix the cup and then pour (water) on the hands."

The later Talmud of Babylon recognises the use of unmixed wine as a possibility, but incidentally shews how the "wine" of the Mishna is to be understood, reserving the blessing "Who hast created the fruit of the vine" to a mixed cup, and extending the general blessing "Who hast created the fruit of the tree" to a cup of pure wine (*Berakhoth* fol. 50 b.)

"In the rubric of the Feasts," says Lightfoot (*Horae Hebraicae* on *Matt.* xxvi. 27), "they always use the word *misgu*, they mix for him the cup." The possible use of unmixed wine is, however, assumed, and no stress appears to be laid upon the practice except incidentally as a matter of temperance.

In any case the ordinary use of mixed wine by the Jews in our Saviour's time cannot be called in question; and it is obvious that no inference can be drawn against His own use of it from His words speaking of "the fruit of the vine," but rather that these words are in favour of it.

2. *The early evidence in the Christian Church.*

This has been touched incidentally already. The *Didachè* says nothing on the point, speaking only of the 'Cup' and the 'Vine of David.' Justin Martyr's evidence is precise, speaking three times of the water as brought with the wine to the celebrant (1 *Apol.* 65, 67). St. Irenæus, circa 180 A.D., speaks twice of the mixed cup (v. 2, 3, and 36, 3). In the second place he uses it as a synonyme for 'fruit of the vine'—speaking of the millennial resurrection:—"For the Lord also taught these things when He promised that He would have a new mixture of the cup in His kingdom with His disciples." Cp. *Matt.* xxvi. 29. St. Clement *Pæd.* ii. 2,

§ 19, 20, certainly refers and gives a mystical sense to the Eucharistic mixture.

From the time of St. Cyprian's letter to Cavilius, *Ep.* 63, about A.D. 254, the opinion became prevalent among Christians that the mixed cup was necessary, either as symbolizing the union of the people with Christ, as St. Cyprian said, or, as Gennadius (*de Eccl. dogm.* 75, *P.L.* 58, 998, circa A.D. 492), on account of the flow of water and blood from His side. The African Church attributed the command to use water to our Lord Himself (*Conc. Carth.* III. *canon* 24, circa A.D. 397, also in *Cod. Canon. Afric.* 37, *Bruns* pp. 126, 166). The article *Elements* in *Dict. Chr. Ant.* i. p. 604, says:—"All the "ancient Liturgies either contain a direction for mixing water "with the wine, or else in the canon the mixing is alluded "to." The evidence is then summarised from the Clementine Liturgy, from the Liturgies called by the names of St. James and St. Mark, from those of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, from the Ethiopic and Nestorian and that of Severus—as well as the Western, Roman and Mozarabic.

On the supposed counter-evidence see Chr. Wordsworth *Hist. Notes on the Archbishop's Judgment*, p. 7.

The interpretation of Origen that our Lord used "unmixed" wine appears to stand alone. He was evidently thereby drawing an inference from the text, in which the mixing is not mentioned. See p. 85 n. 23.

On the Armenians see Scudamore *N.E.* p. 389 and note.

3. *The usage in the English Church before the Reformation.*

In the Oriental Churches the chalice is generally prepared before the service. "In the Greek Church (says Scudamore "p. 395) the Cup is mixed by the Deacon before the Liturgy "at the table of Prothesis or Credence and generally in a side chapel (Goar p. 61). The practice appears to be the same throughout the East." See above p. 87.

In the local Roman Church, as we have seen, the mixture was made during the service, probably in connection with the offering by the people themselves (p. 87). This however was by no means the universal use in the West, but directions

are found of a varying and permissive character, shewing that the general feeling was that it mattered little when and where and with what ceremony the mixture took place provided it were done. This is of course the reasonable view, which would have been at once accepted among us but for strange anxieties and misconceptions on the subject—propagated both by lawyers and churchmen. The evidence is much more extensive than was at first supposed, and it seems hardly worth while to give it all in detail. Several instances of French usages illustrating this matter, and bearing on Sarum usage, will however be found in Martene *de ant. eccl. rit.* i. pp. 344 foll. 4° 1700, e.g. at Auxerre before putting on the amice, ‘si velit: saltem ante evangelium hoc faciat;’ and from Châlon in Champagne (Catalaunensis ecclesia) also before the amice. At Amiens a “parva mensa . . . a latere epistolæ” was used; at Soissons the chalice was prepared behind the high altar; at Châlon-sur-Saone (Cabilonensis ecclesia) at the altar of St. Peter during the singing of the gradual; at Tours there was apparently in Martene’s time a solemn procession like the Eastern Great Entrance (*ibid.* pp. 370, 371).

Duchesne speaks of such an entrance, *Origines* p. 195, as generally characteristic of the Gallican Liturgy, quoting Gregory of Tours *Glor. Mart.* 85 (really 86), who describes a procession at Riom (in Ricomagensi vico civitatis Arvernæ) in which the “tower” containing the “mysterium dominici corporis” flew out of the hands of an unworthy deacon (*P.L.* 71 col. 781). Such a “tower” is also mentioned in a benediction in the Appendix to the same volume col. 1185. Although nothing is here said of the chalice, the parallel with oriental rites makes it probable that it too was brought in the procession.

But whether the mixture in all cases took place before the entrance in the Gallican Church, as M. Duchesne supposes, is not so clear, since St. Germanus, who speaks of the procession of the “tower,” explains the mixture in connection with the offertory (*Expositio P.L.* 72, col. 91). That it usually did so is I think most probable.

With regard to the antiquities of the English uses, Dr. Wickham Legg—whose *History of the Liturgical colours*, London, 1882, is well known—has kindly furnished me with the following important memorandum, to which I have added a few passages in square brackets, being matters of general knowledge, which he had purposely omitted in his notes sent to me.

At the end of the middle ages there appears a disposition to look with indifference upon the time at which the chalice was to be ‘made.’ For example, at Milan Beroldus in the 12th century (about 1130) describes the mixing as taking place after the Gospel, while Casola¹ in 1499 says you may do it when you like: before Mass begins, between Epistle and Gospel, or at the offertory: *non refert* he adds. The same liberty was given at Toledo² and Augsburg.³ Also at Agram,⁴ and here the time of mixing depended on the weather; when it was very cold in the winter, the mixing was to be put off to the offertory.

As to the custom of ROUEN; Martene (*de ant. eccl. rit.* Lib. i. Cap. iv. Art. xii. Ord. xxiv.) quotes from a Rouen book *ab annis circiter 400 exarato*, in which the bread was prepared and the chalice mixed, after the rochet had been put on and the hands washed, but before the amice was put on. The same custom is noted as late as 1499 in the Mass book.

But John of Avranches, a neighbouring and suffragan see, describes in the 11th century the divine offices in a letter to the Abp. of Rouen and would seem to indicate clearly the mixing as following the Gospel.⁵

What then was the practice which came over to England with the Normans? John and the Rouen MS. would seem both to be describing High Mass, from the mention of the Deacon, clerics, incense, &c.

[The custom at High Mass in the SARUM use is described in the *Sarum Consuetudinary* printed by W. H. Rich Jones in the *Register of St. Osmund* vol. i. pp. 148 foll., Rolls Series, 1883. “After the “introit of the Mass one of the taper-bearers shall bring bread and wine “and water in a pyx and cruets solemnly to the place where the bread, “wine and water are arranged for the ministration of the Eucharist; “the other taper-bearer shall bring basins with water and a towel.” Then follows the reading of the Epistle by the Subdeacon and the singing of the gradual by two choir boys on the steps of the pulpit or ambo.

In the meanwhile the taper-bearers meet the acolyte at the door of the presbytery. He has evidently gone out of the choir to the place where the bread and wine and water were laid down and carries them. He puts the corporals on the altar, and the elements somewhere else (in loco debito). After the Epistle—and therefore during the singing of the anthem (the Gradual and Sequence or Tract) that followed it, the

¹ Casola, *Rationale Cerimoniarum Missæ Ambrosianæ*, Mediolani, 1499, fo. 10b.

² *Missal*, 1561.

³ *Missal*, 1555.

⁴ *Missal*, 1511?

⁵ [Joannes Abrincensis *de off. eccl.* P.L. 147 col. 35. John afterwards became Abp. of Rouen himself. Later on he refers to the Communion of the people “intincto pane” col. 37.]

subdeacon assisted by the acolyte prepares the elements for the ministration of the Eucharist "in the place of its administration" (in loco ipsius administrationis). This must have been away from the altar, at some place answering in its use to our altar-rails. After the commencement of the creed the elements are lauded by the acolyte to the subdeacon, by the subdeacon to the deacon, by the deacon to the priest, first the hostia on the paten, and then the chalice, and finally placed on the altar. The priest has nothing to do with the mixture of the chalice.

No credence is mentioned, but I imagine that the use was to have a table which was more detached than a credence usually is, and to use both for the preparation of the elements and for the communicants afterwards to kneel at. The forms, covered with linen cloths, still used in Wimborne Minster may perhaps be a survival of such a table or tables. Such a table is mentioned at Amiens by Martene—"parva mensa in latere epistolæ"—above p. 190.

Dr. Legg writes, "At one time I thought that the 'locus administrationis' might be the south end of the altar, as the Dominicans⁶ make it to this day, and as it used to be in some French rites. (The "Monks [as opposed to the Friars and Seculars,] seem to have been "the chief ones to use credence tables.")"

The Sarum rubrics as given by Maskell, *from editions before A.D. 1500*, are as follows. *Post introitum vero missæ unus ceroferariorum panem vinum et aquam quæ ad eucharistice ministrationem disponuntur deferat; reliquus vero pelvim cum aqua et manutergio portet.* There is no description of the preparation. The next rubric is after the offertory. *Post offertorium vero porrigat diaconus sacerdoti calicem cum patena et sacrificio: et osculetur manum eius utraque vice. Ipse vero accipiens ab eo calicem: diligenter ponat in loco suo debito supra medium altare, &c.* He then says the prayers "Suscipe Sancta Trinitas" and "Acceptum sit," holding the chalice. Then follows *Dicta oratione reponat calicem et cooperiat cum corporalibus: ponatque panem super corporalia decenter, ante calicem vinum et aquam continentem, &c.* This shows that in the Sarum rite the manner of the mixture was considered comparatively speaking of no importance.

Most of the later editions, as followed by Forbes and Dickinson, have this rubric after the Epistle:—*Dictoque Graduali Alleluia vel Sequentia vel Tractu a sacerdote privatim cum suis ministris, accipiat subdiaconus panem et vinum et aquam cum calice, et ea præparet ad eucharistice ministrationem; benedictione prius aque a Sacerdote petita hoc modo Benedicite; Sic respondeat Sacerdos, Dominus. Ab eo sit benedicta, de cujus latere exivit sanguis et aqua. In nomine patris, &c. Sacerdos vero interim sedeat in sede sua.* Then follows the Gospel.]

As to the actual practice [at low mass] in England, the materials for forming an opinion seem scanty. Thomas Becon is a scurrilous and coarse-minded writer, it is true, but he served an English parish before

⁶ The Dominican custom has often been referred to in treating this question. It is described at length in their Missal, of which I have a copy, *Missale Sacri Ordinis P. edicatorum Juxta exemplar Romæ impressum anno 1705, Paris 1721. See p. vi.* for an account of the mixture, which is made by the priest at the south side of the altar before the service begins, *i.e.* before his private prayers and before the Confiteor, &c.

the Reformation, and the information that he gives is most valuable. "Ye come to the Altar with your Masse-book, Corporasse, Chalice and bread with such other trinkets." (*Displaying of the Popish Masse*. Parker Society, *Prayers, &c.*, p. 262). The bread then is taken to the altar at the beginning of the service, as it is at Rome to this day, and he says nothing about the contents of the chalice; but from what he says further on, it would seem likely that the chalice when taken to the altar already contained wine and water ("a spoonful of wine, and two or three drops of water"), for between the epistle and gospel he says "yee uncover the chalice, and look whether your drinke bee there or no" "least you should chance to bee deceived, when the time of your repast come" (*ib.* p. 264).

A visitation of the chalice between the epistle and gospel was not unheard of. At Coutances (*Missal* 1557), before the gospel; "Et visitet an sit vinum et aqua in calice, dis coperiendo (*sic.*) calicem et levando patenam," &c. Cf. also Martene (same place, but *Ordo* xxxiv.) for Leon in Brittany, where the chalice was looked at, but it does not seem certain that it had been prepared: "amoto corporali desuper calicem antequam Evangelium dicat." Cf. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of Celtic Church*, p. 230.

Then there is the evidence quite in the opposite direction of the *Book of Ceremonies*. Strype *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, Oxf. 1822, vol. 1. part ii., p. 422 [287] No. cix. "Then followeth the offertory . . . at which time the Minister, laying the bread upon the altar, maketh the chalice, mixing the water with the wine."

[This may, of course, be a description of the Hereford use, or may shew the author's Roman leanings in matters of ceremony. The author of the Book is unknown. It is generally dated A.D. 1539—43. It was never published or authorised in any way, though apparently prepared for Henry VIIIth's use. At least two MSS. of it exist, one at Lambeth, no. 1107 fol. 167 foll., and one in the British Museum, Cotton Cleopatra E. 5 fol. 259—285. The tendency is in the direction of the six articles, and therefore in opposition to Cranmer.]

At YORK there really appears to be no certain information as to the place or time of mixing: the chalice at the offertory appears to be already mixed.

The writer in the *Ecclesiologist* on the Credence (viii. 152) says that the elements were clearly on the altar at York before the offertory.

Mr. Edmund Bishop gives me a note from his MS. of St. Mary's Abbey, York, that in this church the chalice was made at the offertory (in the Roman place) at High Mass; but before the service at Low Mass.

This would also seem to have been the place at HEREFORD; but the words of the rubric are not so clear as to put the matter beyond all doubt. The Dean of Carlisle tells me that there was a liturgical revolution in 1310 (or thereabouts) and the books of Hereford after that day are new. The rubric, as we have it [which directs the mixture to be made after the offertory] only applies to High Mass, and we know nothing of Low Mass.

At WESTMINSTER (Abbot Lytlington's Mass Book, in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster) the mixing is very distinctly made between the taking of the stole and of the chasuble.

[J. Wickham Legg, M.D., 47 Green-street, Park-lane, London, 24th May, 1891.]

To sum up the evidence in a practical form. The custom of the Sarum High Mass was for the subdeacon to mix the chalice between the Epistle and the Gospel, and apparently not at the altar. When presented ceremonially to the Priest it was certainly already mixed. The custom of the Sarum Low Mass was apparently to bring the elements already prepared (in the Vestry) and place them on the Altar at the beginning of the service, as the Romans now place the Bread. Our practice—when the mixed chalice is used—should be to prepare it in the Vestry, or at the Credence or elsewhere, before the service begins, and to leave it in one or other of those places, so that it may be presented, as ordered by the rubric, after the alms have been placed on the holy table. Cp. pp. 88 and 164.

APPENDIX II.

ON THE JEWISH PRAYER AGAINST HERETICS.

(See pp. 65—67.)

The following is a translation from the *Talmud of Babylon*, Tract *Berakhoth*, fol. 28 b and 29 a, ed. Cracow, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Reichardt and Canon Kingsbury :—

“Our Rabbis have taught that Shimeon the cotton-merchant (Happiqoli) arranged in order the Eighteen Benedictions before Rabban Gamaliel in Jabneh. Rabban Gamaliel then said to the wise men :— ‘Is there no man here who is able to compose (from taqên, ordinare, componere, præparare) a Prayer (literally Benediction) against the heretics (minim; the editious made under censors have the *Sadducees*)’? Then arose Samuel the Little and composed it. In the following year he had forgotten it.”

[Fol. 29a.] “And he bethought himself thereupon for two or three hours without being able to remember it, and none brought it to his memory. Rabbi Jehudah then said, Many that err in all the other Benedictions should not be removed (or superseded); but if any err in the Prayers against the Minim he must be removed, because he falls under the suspicion of being secretly a Min. But with regard to Samuel the Little, who had composed the same, there is no doubt that he had changed his mind.”

Then follows a discussion as to the case of Samuel the Little who was not superseded as Reader, and on the question whether a man righteous in the beginning can fall away (cp. *Ezek.* xviii. 24). The whole ends :—“If this be so—why did they not interrupt Samuel? The case of Samuel the Little was different from the rest, inasmuch as he was the composer of the prayer.”

The Talmud of Jerusalem touches the same tradition, but without going into so much detail. It varies in the following point :—

Samuel the Little stood before the Lectern and omitted some things in reciting the Prayer against the heretics. He looked at his brethren, but they only said to him “The wise have not so determined it.”

There are two opinions amongst scholars as to the date of this occurrence. The Talmud itself seems to place

it before the taking of Jerusalem, and in the time of Gamaliel I. :—

"Both Talmuds," writes Mr. Reichardt, "agree that the Prayer was composed in Jabneh, or Jamnia as it is called by Greek writers, a city situated on the Mediterranean,¹ inhabited principally by Jews, and loyal to the Roman Government which was then the seat of the Sanhedrin. It seems that, owing to the continued strife between the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem and the converts from Judaism to Christianity, the Roman Government had interfered with the free deliberations of the Sanhedrin and curtailed their power and authority. Hence we are informed by Jewish writers that, forty (lunar) years before the destruction of Jerusalem, the Sanhedrin migrated from that place and went from one town to another till they settled at Jabneh, and there Samuel the Little composed the curses upon the Christians 'before Rabban Gamaliel the Elder.' Thus speaks Rabbi Abraham Zakut in his important work on Jewish history, called *Sepher Juchasin* page 20 ed. Hershel Filipowski. Rabbi D. Gaus relates the same in his valuable Jewish history, called *Zemach David*, no. 788, fol. 25, col. 2. Hence we have reason to suppose that the time of the composition of this imprecation was between the years 34—45 A.D.

Mr. Reichardt also refers to the *Babylonian Talmud*, Tract *Rosh-ha-shanah*, fol. 31 b; *Sanhedrin*, fol. 41 a; *Shabbath*, fol. 15 a; *Aroda Sarah*, fol. 8 b, for the migrations of the Sanhedrin beginning on the curtailment of their power by the Romans forty (lunar) years before the destruction of Jerusalem. He connects this curtailment with the death of St. Stephen and of James the Lord's brother; and observes that, according to Jewish tradition, Samuel the Little was a disciple of Gamaliel the Elder and died before the destruction of Jerusalem.

The other opinion is that the Gamaliel referred to is the second of that name, grandson of Gamaliel the First, and that the prayer was therefore composed after the destruction of Jerusalem. This is the opinion of J. Hamburger in his *Encyclopädie*, s. v. *Schemone-Esre*, p. 1095, and he wishes to render l'ethaqqên "to amend," "revise" (verbessern, umgestalten), supposing that the reading "Sadducees" is genuine, and that the object was to turn a curse against the

¹ Mentioned in 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 6 as a town of the Philistines, cp. *Joshua* xv. 11 (Jabneel). See A. Neubauer *Géogr. du Talmud* p. 74, who says that it had probably established its reputation as an abode of learned men before the destruction of the Temple, and that R. Johanan ben Zakai after having predicted to Vespasian that he should become Emperor asked his favour for Jabneh and its learned men (*Palm. Bab. Gittin* 66a). It lies between Ascalon and Joppa.

Sadducees into one against the "Mînim." He also wishes to interpret "Minim" as sectaries, within the pale of Judaism, not as Nazarene deserters from it.

Schürer also adopts the later date.

I have no means of forming a sufficient opinion on the subject, but I incline to think that the early date is, at least, as probable as the later one, and to see in this prayer an attempt made to stop the flow of converts from Judaism to Christianity, which was quite as likely to be attempted early in the rivalry between the Synagogue and the Church as later in the century.

An ingenious suggestion was made by Gustav Zeltner *Birchath hamminim seu fragmentum Pauli*, Altdorf, 1713 (as I learn from Mr. Reichardt) that Samuel the Little and Paul the Apostle were the same person. This might be possible if it was composed in the time, and at the request, of his master, Gamaliel the Elder. It is obvious that "the Little" = Paulus, and it is remarked that the expression, "Let there be no hope," has a Pauline ring, and that, in 1 Sam., i. 28, Shâûl, "lent," is a synonyme for Samuel, in Hannah's words to Eli: "Therefore also I have lent him to the Lord: as long as he liveth he shall be lent (Shâûl or Saul) to the Lord." Certainly, such a cryptogram—"Samuel shall be Saul"—would be exactly suited to the Rabbinical mind, if it was desired to hand down the secret of the authorship of the prayer to the initiated, without stating it in so many words.

This opinion appears to be adopted also by Biesenthal, *Gesch. der Christlichen Kirche*, p. 26, Berlin, 1850, who says: "Gamaliel, St. Paul's Jewish teacher, was, like him, a Benjamite. . . . The mildness of his attitude in the beginning towards Christianity brought him into difficulties with the rival school (that of Shammai) when the new doctrine began to spread and take root in Palestine. . . . To avert the suspicion of his favouring the new sect of Christians, Gamaliel caused his disciple, Samuel haccatôn (the little one, Παῦλος, Paulus) to compose a prayer against all heretics (mînim) which is still extant. (Tract *Berachoth*, 28b, 29.)" I owe this last and other references to the kindness of Canon Kingsbury.

APPENDIX III.

DIOCESAN STATISTICS, 1890.

Partly taken from the returns made to myself, partly from those for the Church Year Book, by the kindness of Canon Burnside.

A.—PERSONAL.

Population of Diocese—Wilts (1881), 178,380; Dorset (1891), 194,487.
Total, 372,867.

Total number of Parishes making returns to myself, 506; to the Church Year-book, 490.

Number of Sitzings—Free, 104,730; appropriated 49,308; total, 154,038.
Churches open for daily prayer, 137; for private prayer, 201.

Staff of Clergy 623

Baptisms—Infants, 6192; adults, 84; total, 6276.

Confirmations 1888.—Wilts—Males, 549; Females, 674; total, 1223

“ “ Dorset “ 614 “ 712 “ 1326

“ 1889.—Wilts “ 548 “ 572 “ 1120

“ “ Dorset “ 2245 “ 2495 “ 4740

“ 1890.—Wilts “ 1748 “ 2074 “ 3822

“ “ Dorset “ 509 “ 575 “ 1084

6213 7102 13,315

Average for three years ... 2071 “ 2367 “ 4438

Communicants, as returned for the Church Year-book ... 32,560

“ (estimated), as returned to myself,

Wilts, 16,681; Dorset, 27,460—44,141

Celebrations Daily ... Wilts, 1; Dorset, 2; total, 3

“ Weekly ... Wilts, 100; Dorset, 73; total, 173

“ Fortnightly, &c. “ 56 “ 58 “ 114 } 506

“ Monthly ... “ 73 “ 125 “ 198

“ Less frequently “ 6 “ 12 “ 18

Children attending Elementary Schools belonging to the Church, 43,725

“ “ Sunday Schools “ 36,744

Religious instruction is given by the Clergy in Day Schools,
in 179 parishes in Wilts and 172 in Dorset. Total, 351.

Church Workers. Total.

1. Sidesmen, 377; parochial councillors, 122 499

2. Lay Readers—Licensed, 16; unlicensed, 29 45

3. Bell Ringers 1528

4. Deaconesses, 6; nurses, 39; mission women, 7 52

5. District Visitors—Male, 24; Female, 993 1017

6. Sunday School Teachers—Male, 858; Female, 2548 3406

7. Members of Choirs—Male, 5431; Female, 2135 7566

8. Other helpers—Male, 188; Female, 140 328

B.—FINANCIAL.

Voluntary Contributions for Church Work.—Total figures for the Diocese for the year 1890.

1. For the maintenance of Assistant Clergy and Church Expenses.			
For Assistant Clergy—	£	s.	d.
Paid by Incumbents	12,174	18	6
From other sources parochial	3,484	5	9
For lay helpers and general church expenses ...	14,983	0	11
2. Maintenance of Schools (Day and Sunday)—			
By voluntary subscriptions	18,373	14	4
From interest on endowments	2,275	11	3
3. Collections for Home Missions	2,023	12	2
" Foreign Missions	4,458	19	3
" Diocesan Funds	964	11	0
" General Funds	1,071	0	2
" The poor and local charities ...	14,236	2	4
Total	£74,045	15	8

From the returns it would appear that—

283 parishes contributed last year to Home Missions.

297 parishes to Foreign Missions.

II. Church Building and Restoration, Burial Grounds, Endowments, Parsonage Houses, Schools, &c.—

1. Church Building and Restoration—			
On fabric	15,873	10	1
On fittings	6,099	12	9
2. The enlargement of burial grounds	823	1	4
3. The endowment of benefices	302	7	0
4. Building and enlargement of parsonage houses ...	9,749	18	0
5. Enlargement of schools, &c.	10,001	2	0
Total	42,849	11	2

Gross total of Voluntary Contributions raised in the Diocese for one year, 1890 :—

I. For general church work	74,045	15	8
II. For exceptional expenditure on church building, &c.	42,849	11	2
Total	116,895	6	10

C.—OBITUARY OF CLERGY SINCE THE TRIENNIAL VISITATION OF 1888.

1888.

Thomas Hammond Tooke, 15th April, formerly Rector of Monkton Farley.

Henry Hinxman Duke, 5th May, Rector of Brixton Deverill.

Lionel William Digby Dawson Damer, 2nd July, Prebendary of Yetminster Secunda and formerly Rector of Canford Magna.

John Rowlands, 21st September, Rector of Newton Toney.

Robert Francis Wilson, 8th October, Prebendary of Beminster Prima.
 Thomas Henry Tait, 14th November, Prebendary of Netheravon and
 Rector of Hilperton.
 Alfred Octavius Hartley, 27th November, Vicar of Steeple Ashton and
 formerly Rural Dean.
 George Allen Vander-Meulen, 3rd December, Rector of West Knoyle.

1889.

Thomas Maurice Patey, 3rd March, Rector of Hampreston.
 Alfred Edersheim, 16th March, formerly Vicar of Loders.
 Thomas Thornburgh, 2nd April, Vicar of Heywood.
 John George Du Boulay, 21st April, formerly Curate of Haselbury
 Bryan.
 Lewis Gidley, 28th April, Chaplain of St. Nicholas Hospital, Salisbury.
 Henry William Atkinson, 25th May, Rector of West Compton.
 Ven. Thomas Sanctuary, 27th May, Archdeacon of Dorset, Canon
 Residentiary of Salisbury, and Vicar of Powerstock.
 Nathaniel Bond, 20th July, Prebendary of Hurstborne and Burbage,
 and Rector of Steeple with Grange and Tyneham.
 Edward George Griffith, 22nd July, Rector of Winterborne Gunner.
 George Peloquin Graham Cosserat, 28th July, Rector of Winfrith
 Newburgh.
 John Parr, 9th August, formerly Vicar of S. Mary's, Marlborough, and
 Prebendary of Shipton.
 Martin Johnson Green, 17th September, Prebendary of Alton Borealis
 and Rector of Winterborne Steepleton.
 James Hicks, 28th December, formerly Vicar of Piddletrenthide.

1890.

Thomas Law Montefiore, 13th January, Vicar of Chideock.
 Marlborough Sterling Berry, 16th January, Vicar of West Ashton.
 Henry Francis Smith, 19th January, Rector of Folke.
 Augustus Kemp, 23rd January, formerly Vicar of Worth Matravers.
 Henry Cave-Browne-Cave, 4th February, Vicar of Edington.
 Wellesley Pole Pigott, 27th February, Rector of Fugglestone with
 Bemerton, and Rector of Fovant.
 Robert White Fiske, 28th March, Rector of Stockton.
 John Herbert Plowman, 28th March, Vicar of Burbage.
 William Appleford, 20th April, formerly Vicar of Portland St. Peter.
 Charles Tower, 12th June, Prebendary of Gillingham Major.
 Henry Newport, 1st August, Rector of Tarrant Hinton.
 John Blennerhassett, 5th September, Rector of Ryne Intrinseca.
 de Courcy Meade, 26th September, formerly Rector of Tockenham Week.
 Thomas Taylor, 30th September, Rector of Boscombe.
 John Bridge Woodman, 25th October, Rector of Glanvilles Wootton.
 Edward Arthur Dayman, 30th October, Prebendary of Bitton and
 Rector of Shillingstone.
 Richard Payne, 8th November, Prebendary of Warminster and formerly
 Vicar of Downton.
 Robert William Fairbank, 29th November, Curate of Hilmarton.
 Thomas Henry Roper, 5th December, formerly Rector of Piddlehinton.
 William Marshall Sargent Babington, 30th December, Curate of
 Abbotsbury.

1891.

Thomas Hammond House, 3rd January, Vicar of Winterborne Anderson.
 Francis John Kitson, 28th January, Rector of Chilton Foliat.
 Christopher Flood Cooke, 16th February, Vicar of Enford.
 John Sinclair Stewart, 14th May, Vicar of Winterborne Stoke.
 William Henry Robert Brickmann, 11th June, Vicar of Road Hill.
 Joseph Henry Maclean, 14th June, Rector of Chilfrome.

D.—CHURCH BUILDING.

CHURCHES REPAIRED, ENLARGED, OR IMPROVED.

1888—1891.

1888.	1890.	1891,
Ryme Intrinseca	Moor Crichel	Fleet
	Wimborne St. Giles	Charlton All Saints
1889.	Holt (Dorset)	Horton
Warminster	Pewsey	Wyke Regis
Holt (Dorset)	Shroton	Bradford-on-Avon
Shaw	Yetminster	Great Durnford
Milton Abbas	Winterborne Anderson	Lytehatt Matravers
Leigh	Wootton Bassett	Puncknowle
Lyme Regis	Minterne	Upwey
Shillingstone	Tarrant Gunville	Great Toller
Hermitage	Ch. Ch. Melcombe Regis	
Netheravon	Newton Toney	
Winsley	Poulshot	
Woodsford	Iwerne Minster	
Hilperton	Chardstock All Saints	
	Bradford Abbas	
	Bulford	

CHURCHES AND CHAPELS DEDICATED AND CONSECRATED.

1888. St. John Baptist, Broadstone (ded.)
 1889. St. Clement's, Newtown.
 „ (St. John Evangelist, Kinson, Dio. Winton).
 1890. Holy Trinity, Solway Ash.
 „ Holy Trinity, Bothenhampton.
 1891. St. Katherine, Holt, Wilts (New Chancel).
 „ Sturminster Newton Union Workhouse Chapel
 (ded.)

WORKS IN PROGRESS.

Edington.	Winterborne Stickland.
Ramsbury.	Froxfield.
Corsley.	Stratton.
Wimborne Minster.	Hilton.

Furnished by MESSRS. K. MACDONALD & MALDEN, Deputy Registrars of the Consistorial and Episcopal Court of Salisbury.
Faculties granted by the Consistorial and Episcopal Court of Sarum from July, 1886, to July, 1891.

DATE.	PARISH.	OBJECT OF FACULTY.	COST, &c.
7th July, 1886	Tisbury	To restore the South Transept of the Church, dispose of old Organ, and provide new one, erect an Organ and Vestry Rooms, &c.	Cost £1955. Amount promised £1620. Vicar undertook to provide same.
2nd September, 1886	Warminster	To restore, reseal and refit the Chancel, to restore, reseal, refit and enlarge the North and South Transepts, to enlarge Vestry and erect Choir Vestry, remove North and South Transept Galleries, and appropriate certain seats in South Transept to Owner of Parsonage Farm and Vicar of Warminster respectively in lieu of seats surrendered in the Chancel.	Cost £3000, all realized. Petitioners (except Marquis of Bath) undertook to provide same.
9th September, 1886	Verwood	To ease the walls of the Chapel, remove Galleries, erect Vestry, and restore, reseal and refit Nave, and execute other works.	Cost £700, of which £550 realized. Petitioners undertook to provide same.
14th September, 1886	Farley	For the removal of the Corpse of the Honble. John George Charles Fox Strangways from the "Ilchester" Vault in the Parish Church of Farley, and reinter the same in the "Ilchester" Vault in the Parish Church of Melbury Sampford.	
16th September, 1886	Wimborne Saint Giles	To restore, reseal and refit the Church and Chancel, and erect a North Chancel Aisle, &c.	
31st January, 1887	Sedghill	For the removal of the Corpse of Eustace Thomas Beilby Lawley, Infant, from the Churchyard of the Parochial Chapelry, and to reinter the same in the Churchyard of the Parish Church of Abbeyleix, Queen's County.	The Right Honble. the Countess of Shaftesbury undertook to provide the whole of the cost.
10th May, 1887	Stratton	Appropriating and confirming a Vault or Burial Place constructed in the Churchyard for the exclusive use of The Honorable Mrs. Jane Frances Ashley and her family.	
9th July, 1887	Warminster	To restore, reseal, refit and enlarge the Nave and North and South Aisles of the Church, remove the Galleries in such Aisles, and to execute other works.	Cost £4000. Amount realized £1670. Vicar undertook to provide same.
27th July, 1887	Bloxworth	To reseal and refit the Nave of the Church, and to execute other works.	
14th November, 1887	Fisherton Anger Cemetery	For the removal of the Corpse of Samuel Hobson, Esqre., from Fisherton Anger Cemetery, and to re-	Rector undertook to provide the whole of the cost.

Sun February, 1888	Edington	...	...	To restore, reseal, and refit the Church (except the Chancel), and to execute other works.	Cost £5000. Amount realized £1800 (including £200 granted by Diocesan Church Building Association).
29th February, 1888	Milton Abbas	...	...	To restore, reseal, and refit the Church and Chancel, and erect South Aisle, Vestry, &c.	Cost £1350. Amount realized £800 (including £60 granted by Diocesan Church Building Association).
9th May, 1888	Christ Church, Melcombe Regis	...	...	To seat the Chapel and Chancel, and to execute other works.	William Vawdrey Lush, Esqre., undertook to provide the whole of the cost.
6th June, 1888	Seend	...	...	To remove the Galleries in the Church, to dispose of the old Organ and provide a new one, and to execute other works.	Cost £250. Provided by voluntary donation.
11th August, 1888	Shillingstone	...	...	To restore, reseal, and refit the Church and Chancel, erect North Aisles to the Nave and Chancel, form Vestry Room, and remove the Galleries, &c.	Cost £1700. Amount realized £1500.
1st November, 1888	Holnest	...	...	Appropriating and confirming a Mausoleum or Burial Place constructed in the Chapelyard, as and for a Burial Place for the Corpse of Body of the late John Samuel Wanley Sawbridge Erle-Drax, Esqre, deceased, and for the exclusive use of the Family of the deceased.	
14th November, 1888	Pewsey	...	...	To restore, reseal, and enlarge the Church and Chancel, erect an Organ Chamber and Vestry Room, remove the Galleries, and to execute other works.	Cost £3050. Amount realized £1300 (including £150 from Incorporated Church Building Society and £40 from Diocesan Church Building Association); works to be carried out as funds are available.
20th March, 1889	Landford	...	...	For the removal of the Corpse of George Morrison, Esqre., from the Churchyard of the Parish Church, and to reinter the same in Brompton Cemetery, Middlesex.	
1st May, 1889	Bothenhampton	...	...	To take down the ancient Church (except the Chancel and Tower), converting a portion of the same into a Mortuary Chapel, and confirming the rebuilding of the same on a new site.	Cost of New Church £1450. Amount realized £1326, including £60 granted by Incorporated Church Building Society and £50 by Diocesan Church Building Society.
22nd May, 1889	Yetminster	...	...	To restore, reseal, and refit the Parish Church (except the Chancel), to dispose of the old Organ, and remove the Galleries.	Cost £1265. Amount realized £1240, including £75 granted by Diocesan Church Building Society and £100 by Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England.
29th May, 1889	Leigh	...	...	To restore, reseal and refit the Nave of the Parish Church, and to execute other works.	Cost £900. Amount realized £750, including £50 granted by Diocesan Church Building Association.
29th May, 1889	Iwerne Minster	...	...	To erect a South Chancel Aisle to the Parish Church as a Memorial to the late Right Honble. George Grenfell, Baron Wolverton, and for the use of the Owners and Occupiers of Iwerne Minster House.	Cost defrayed by Lady Wolverton.
11th July, 1889	Lyme Regis	...	...	To erect a Chancel Screen in the Parish Church.	Cost defrayed by Revd. Edward Peek.

DATE.	PARISH,	OBJECT OF FACULTY,	COST, &c.
28th August, 1889	Holt (Wilts) ...	To restore, reseal, refit and enlarge the Church and rebuild the Chancel, erect an Organ Chamber and Vestry Room, and to execute other works.	Cost £2365. Amount realized £1360 (including £70 granted by Diocesan Church Building Association and £200 by Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England). Cost (exclusive of cost of removal of Organ defrayed by Rector and Churchwarden) £398. Amount realized £280. Cost £2213. Amount realized £190.
31st October, 1889	Corsley ...	To reseal and refit the Church and Chancel, remove the North and South Galleries, and to execute other works.	Cost £1000. Amount realized £450. Promised in addition about £100.
2nd April, 1890	Christ Church, Melcombe Regis ...	To erect an organ in the Chapel and to execute other works.	Cost £600. Amount realized £495 (including £45 granted by Diocesan Church Building Association).
18th June, 1890	Punchknowle ...	To partially reseal and refit the Nave of the Parish Church, erect a North Aisle, an Organ Chamber and Vestry Room, remove the Gallery, and to execute other works.	Cost £1500. Amount realized £250.
2nd July, 1890	Chardstock All Saints	To rebuild the Chancel of the Church, erect an Organ Chamber and Vestry Room, and to execute other works.	Cost £1200 (undertaken by the Vicar, to be provided by him on behalf of an unknown Donor).
10th July, 1890	Great Toller, otherwise Toller Porcorum ...	To restore and partially reseal and refit the Church and Chancel, remove the Western Gallery, and to execute other works.	Cost £3000. Amount realized £3700 (including £200 granted by Diocesan Church Building Association).
18th August, 1890	Culpe ...	To restore the Chancel of the Church, erect Chancel Screens and a Reredos, and to execute other works.	Cost £930. Amount realized £815.
24th December, 1890	Ramsbury ...	To restore, reseal, and refit the Church (except the Chancel) and remove the Galleries, and to execute other works.	Cost £1500. Amount realized £1000.
18th February, 1891	Upway ...	To restore, reseal, and refit the Parish Church and Chancel and remove the Galleries, and to execute other works.	Cost £945. Amount realized £593.
4th March, 1891	Wimborne Minster ...	To restore and reroof the North and South Transepts of the Church and remove the Galleries.	Cost £1560. £350, cost of Chancel, provided by A. Pope, Esq., and £1000 raised by subscriptions.
10th June, 1891	Froxfield ...	To restore, reseal, and refit the Nave of the Church, erect North Aisle and Organ Chamber, rebuild Vestry Room, remove Gallery, and execute other works.	
10th June, 1891	Stratton ...	To rebuild the Nave, Vestry, and Porch of the Parish Church, erect a Chancel, and to execute other works.	

APPENDIX IV.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO PP. 107 ff. ON THE USE OF THE LORD'S PRAYER IN CONSECRATION.

Since writing these addresses I have had the advantage of reading Mr. F. H. Chase's learned essay *On the Lord's Prayer*, which is, I believe, to appear in the next number of the Cambridge "Texts and Studies," edited by J. Armitage Robinson, M.A.

Mr. Chase draws attention, on pp. 25—38, to the existence of a petition for the coming of the Holy Spirit in some forms of the first half of the Lord's Prayer. St. Gregory of Nyssa read it in St. Luke in the form, *May Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us*, instead of the petition, *Thy Kingdom come* (*de or. dom.* p. 60, ed. Krabinger). So did Maximus, an orthodox writer against the Monothelites in the first half of the seventh century (Migne *P.G.* 90, p. 884 f.) Marcion, as quoted by Tertullian, and probably Tertullian himself, were familiar with such a petition as a substitute for *Thy will be done* (Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 26). In quoting St. Matthew it is to be noticed that Tertullian arranges the petitions in a peculiar order, *Sanctificetur nomen tuum, Fiat voluntas tua, Veniat regnum tuum* (*de oratione* 4).

It is also to be remarked that some early (Western?) texts seem to have read in St. Luke xi. 2, *May Thy Name be hallowed upon us*. This is the text of the Codex Bezae (Latin *super nos*), and is naturally compared with the gloss found both in Tertullian and St. Cyprian:—"We ask that it may be hallowed *in us—in nobis*" (*de oratione* 3; *de or. dom.* 12). Cp. also St. Cyril. Hierosol. *Cat. Myst.* v. 12.

The two references to the Lord's Prayer made by St. Paul

in *Gal.* iv. 6 and *Rom.* viii. 15, also touch upon the gift of the Holy Spirit.

It is difficult to account in detail for these facts ; but they certainly seem to point to varying forms of the prayer, when it was used for sacramental and ritual purposes, as well as for ordinary daily wants.

The Doxology is an instance of its enlargement for ordinary purposes (see e.g. the *Didachè* viii. 2) ; the later Embolismus of its liturgical expansion. The passages quoted by Mr. Chase pp. 28, 29 imply that it was used in baptism either as, or in company with, an invocation (perhaps mental) of the Holy Spirit. St. Dionysius Alex. (ap. Eus. *II.E.* vii. 2) may possibly mean that it was the only baptismal prayer.

Mr. Chase does not discuss the question, touched in my address, as to the use of the Lord's Prayer as the chief element in Eucharistic consecration, though he comes near to doing so. It is obvious that if the form used by Justin had a petition for the coming of the Holy Spirit—either worded like that of Gregory of Nyssa, or as referred to by Tertullian, or slightly varied so as to refer to the gifts lying before the Lord—it would naturally seem much more complete, as a consecration prayer, than it does to us, who are only familiar with the critical editions of Gospel MSS. Mr. Chase's essay supplies other instances of variations, shewing that the Church did not shrink from adapting the sacred words to her wants as the spirit prompted her.

APPENDIX V.

The following bibliography, though incomplete, may help to shew the varied literary activity of our Diocese during the past few years, in which I trust that both Wiltshire and Dorset men will take pride. Besides the books and pamphlets here set down there are many excellent papers in the recent volumes of the *Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine* (especially by our much regretted friend Canon Jackson), the *Transactions of the Salisbury Field Club*, the *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, and the *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, which it is impossible to register here. The 45th volume of the *Archæological Journal*, 1888, should also be consulted, and the local newspapers, especially those of Salisbury and Dorchester, and the periodical called *Saint Osmund*, of which five numbers were published at Parkstone April 1885—July 1886.

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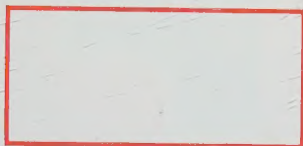
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